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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 451

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SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

PHILIPPINES REGISTERS BALANCE-OF-PAYMENTS DEFICIT

OW031724 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 3 Aug 83

[Text] Manila, 3 August (XINHUA)--The balance of payments deficit of the Philippines in the first semester of fiscal 1983 was 562 million U.S. dollars, almost the value targeted by the government for the whole of 1983. This is announced by the Central Bank yesterday in a report prepared by the bank's Governor Jaime Laya for President Ferdinand Marcos.

However, the report noted that a 17.4 percent improvement was made from the deficit of 680 million dollars in the corresponding period of last year.

The international reserve stood at 2.28 billion U.S. dollars, down by 10.2 percent or 260 million from the level, at the end of 1982.

"The balance of payments was still disappointing despite measures taken early in the year to stimulate foreign exchange receipts and to control outflows," the report stated. These measures, the report indicated, included the cancellation of five major industrial projects worth 3 billion U.S. dollars, a devaluation of the peso by 7.8 percent in the peso-dollar exchange rate to discourage imports and boost exports and an increase in the price of oil products.

The total trade in the first 6 months amounted to 6,260 million U.S. dollars, down by 4.9 percent as compared with the first half of 1982. The trade deficit is 1.46 billion U.S. dollars, slightly higher than 1.34 billion for the same period last year.

As of the end of June, the country's external debt amounted to 18 billion U.S. dollars, showing a considerable increase over 17 billion at the end of last December.

In spite of all this, the report said, with a strong program of economic management, the national economy is expected to strengthen its balance of payments position and maintain a moderate growth rate as the momentum for global recovery is becoming greater.

CSO: 4000/226

## SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

### BRIEFS

TRADE AT THAI BORDER--Bangkok, 3 August (XINHUA)--Kampuchean are allowed by Vietnamese troops to enter the Kampuchean-Thai border areas to sell and buy goods from Thailand, according to a report from the eastern Thai border town for Aranyaprathet today. The report said that Viet Nam completely sealed off the access to the border markets late last year. Last month, Vietnamese soldiers permitted Kampuchean merchants to pass through their barricades to areas near the Thai border. But the merchants should pay a 20 percent "tax" on their merchandise. The new easing of border trading restriction by Viet Nam is believed here to be due to the widespread shortage of essential goods inside Kampuchea and also among the Vietnamese occupation troops. [Text] [OW031147 Beijing XINHUA in English 1129 GMT 3 Aug 83]

THAI PREMIER VISITS SOUTH ASIA--Bangkok, 4 August (XINHUA)--As the leader of a Thai Government delegation, Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon left here today for a 1-week official and friendly visit to Nepal, Pakistan and Bangladesh. This is his first overseas visit since he was reelected prime minister last May. He told newsmen at the airport that the visit is aimed at strengthening good neighbour relations and promoting bilateral trade and economic cooperation with the three South Asian countries. He will have discussions with leaders of these countries on the international situation and southeast Asian issues of common concern. Prime Minister Prem is accompanied by ministers of foreign affairs, commerce and education as well as economists and bankers on the visit. [Text] [OW040914 Beijing XINHUA in English 0825 GMT 4 Aug 83]

MORE SRV STRONGHOLDS SEIZED--Beijing, 3 August (XINHUA)--The national army and guerrillas of Democratic Kampuchea have recently seized a Vietnamese stronghold in Pursat Province, in the western part of the country, reported Radio Democratic Kampuchea today. On the night of 25 July, the national army and guerrillas mounted an attack on the Vietnamese stronghold in Anlong Reap, in the Leach District of the province. After a 2-hour battle they captured the stronghold, killing 88 and wounding 100 Vietnamese soldiers, destroying several barracks, an arsenal and an oil depot. On the following day, the Kampuchean retreated to their guerrilla base. On 24 July the guerrillas captured a Vietnamese stronghold in Speang Bak, Battambang Province. In the same action, they took control of four nearby villages. In the period from 24 to 28 July, the national army and guerrillas attacked two strongholds along the highway which runs from Kaoh Kong to Kampong Saom, as well as a military emplacement in the northern part of Kaoh Kong Province. Sixty Vietnamese soldiers were reported killed or wounded in the fighting. In the Chhep-Thalabarivat battlefield in the northern

part of the country, Kampuchean guerrillas laid ambush to a Vietnamese company outside the village of Ropunh. The Vietnamese suffered casualties and lost weaponry in the fighting that ensued. [Text] [OW030728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0715 GMT 3 Aug 83]

SIHANOUK SPEAKS IN MAURITANIA--Nouakchott, 1 August (XINHUA)--Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, president of Democratic Kampuchea, declared here today that the Kampuchean patriots have no other choices than continuing their war of resistance in order to liberate their motherland from the Vietnamese aggressors. Upon arriving at the Nouakchott Airport for his 3-day official visit to Mauritania, Sihanouk said the Kampuchean people firmly carry out and will continue waging unremittingly the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors. "Contrary to the assessment made by certain foreign sources, our struggle advances and develops with every passing day," he declared. He said the coalition government under his leadership now controls areas not only bordering Thailand but also in places elsewhere. Norodom Sihanouk and his wife were welcomed at the airport by Mauritanian President Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidalla, Prime Minister Maaouiya Ould Sid Ahmed Taya and other senior officials. The Kampuchean guests will stay here for a few days' private visit after the 3-day official one. [Text] [OW021922 Beijing XINHUA in English 1847 GMT 2 Aug 83]

U.S. FOOD AID PHASE OUT--Manila, 4 August (XINHUA)--The Philippine cabinet has asked President Ferdinand Marcos to phase out the United States food assistance program by the end of next year and replace the foreign donations with more nutritional local substitutes, the Philippine News Agency (PNA) reported tonight. The request was decided at the cabinet meeting chaired by Prime Minister Virata on 2 August. PNA said that the cabinet has created a special committee headed by agricultural Minister Arturo Tanco to monitor the phaseout of the food aid and look into proper substitutes. However, the cabinet said, the Philippine Government will continue to receive milk from the same program until 1987 and also food grants worth 7.5 million U.S. dollars from the United States until the end of 1984. But the food programs of other countries as those from Australia and the European economic community will not be affected. PNA also reported the U.S. Government has issued a notice to the Philippines to terminate the food aid program because the Philippines no longer qualifies for the food aid. Press reports said earlier that during the Cancun Summit meeting in 1981, President Marcos, after learning that people in 21 countries were dying of hunger, indicated he would scrap the food aid program. He said countries like the Philippines, although not exactly rich, were capable of handling their food problems. [Text] [OW042211 Beijing XINHUA in English 1548 GMT 4 Aug 83]

CGDK-MAURITANIA JOINT COMMUNIQUE--Nouakchott, 4 August (XINHUA)--The UN resolutions calling for the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and the restoration of sovereignty and the right to self-determination to the Kampuchean people should be respected and implemented, said a joint communique issued here today at the end of the 3-day official visit to Mauritania by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, president of Democratic Kampuchea [CGDK], and his wife. The communique said: "The two sides hope that all the parties concerned will participate in a constructive manner in the international conference on Kampuchea, at which a just solution to the Kampuchean issue should be found out so as to assure peace, security and stability in southeast Asia, an important area in the world." It said that the two sides hoped that the Western Sahara issue should be settled in accordance with the resolutions adopted by

the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. The communique said that both Democratic Kampuchea and Mauritania resolutely supported the Palestinian people and other Arab people in their struggle against Israel's aggression and for the recovery of the occupied lands and restoration of the Palestinian people's inalienable rights to self-determination and independence. It said that the two sides supported the Namibian and Southern African peoples in their struggle for independence and against the South African regime's policies of apartheid and racial discrimination. It said: "The two sides reaffirm full support to the Afghan people in their national liberation struggle for the restoration of sovereignty and independence and for the effective exercise of their right to self-determination in accordance with the UN resolutions without foreign interference. President Sihanouk and his wife will stay here for a private visit in the next few days. [Text] [OW042000 Beijing XINHUA in English 1606 GMT 4 Aug 83]

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### IMPORTANCE OF NATION'S INDEPENDENCE, INITIATIVE STRESSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 June 83 p 3

[Article by Wang Furu [3769 4395 1172]: "Adhere to Independence and Keep the Initiative in One's Own Hands To Create Special Chinese Characteristics"]

[Text] Independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands is the embodiment of the combination of proletarian internationalism and patriotism, and is also a fundamental principle of our party and state in dealing with foreign relations.

We understand that the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is an international cause. Only when all of humankind is liberated will the proletariat of all countries achieve their own liberation, and only during the general development of the world will each nation achieve its own development. The proletariat and laboring people of all countries face a common adversary in struggles and have common interests, and therefore in revolutionary struggle they should coordinate with and support and help each other. However, the revolution and construction of each country's proletariat and masses of people is carried out within the scope of that country and that nation. Therefore, the proletarian political party of the country must proceed from that country's actual circumstances, represent the fundamental interests of that country's proletariat and masses of people, and mainly depend on the strength of that country's people to obtain victory in revolution and construction. This also means that they must adhere to the principle of being independent and keeping the initiative in their own hands. Engels once said: "International unity can only exist among countries, and thus the existence of these countries and the initiative and independence in their internal affairs are included in this concept of internationalism itself." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39 p 84)

From the setbacks suffered by the Chinese revolution, the CPC represented by Comrade Mao Zedong gradually came to understand the importance of the principle of adhering to independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands. The CPC struggled against the mistaken tendency, which was rife for a time within the communist movement and our party, to make Marxism a dogma and to make the resolutions of the Comintern and the experiences of the Soviet Union sacred, struggled against imperialism and great-nation

hegemonism, and took the victorious path while maintaining independence and keeping the initiative of the New Democracy revolution and the socialist revolution in its own hands. Now we have entered a new period in the building of socialism and are constructing modernization under the conditions of an open-door policy, and only by adhering even better to the principle of independence and keeping the initiative in our hands under the new circumstances will we be able to achieve the great goal of building a socialism with distinctive Chinese features.

To adhere to the principle of independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands under the new circumstances, based on Comrade Mao Zedong's expositions and our historical experiences, we should grasp well the requirements in three aspects.

1. To Adhere To Independence and Keeping the Initiative in One's Own Hands, We Certainly Must Integrate the Basic Tenets of Marxism with the Reality of Our Country and Take Our Own Path.

As early as the beginning of the 1930's, Comrade Mao Zedong, focusing on the tendency toward dogmatism in the party at that time, in his article "Oppose Book Worship," pointed out: "The victory of China's revolutionary struggle depends on the Chinese comrades' understanding of China's situation." This was the earliest clear expression of the idea of being independent and keeping the initiative in one's own hands. Because we want to solve the problem of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the reality in each country, we cannot indiscriminately imitate the tenets of Marxism-Leninism and also cannot indiscriminately imitate the experiences of other countries. The only way is to rely on the communists in each country themselves understanding their own natural condition and finding their own path. Our party did this in the New Democracy revolution and the socialist revolution, and with regard to the question of building socialism it must also persist in doing this.

In the initial period after liberation, we did not have much experience with regard to the question of how to build socialism, and we could only study to a comparatively large degree the way the Soviet Union did things. The policy of the First 5-Year Plan was correct, and by carrying out this plan we obtained big successes, but at the same time some problems were revealed. In April 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong made a speech entitled "On the Ten Big Relationships," in which, taking the experiences of the Soviet Union as an object lesson (e.g., their grasping of heavy industry and letting go of light industry and agriculture and their harsh treatment of the peasants, as well as their over centralization of management and rigid handling of enterprises, etc.), he summed up the 10 dialectical relationships in socialist revolution and construction, including the question of how to study and apply foreign (including capitalist countries') advanced experiences. Afterward, Comrade Mao Zedong and other leading comrades of the Central Committee, at the Eighth Party Congress and the Second Plenary Session of

the Eighth CPC Central Committee, discussed how, proceeding from China's reality, to determine the question of its own construction policy. At the beginning of 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the "path of China's industrialization," only at that time this concept was taken in a comparatively narrow sense. Because these valuable exploratory ideas later met with two big setbacks they could not be continued. It was only after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, when the party Central Committee decided on a shift in focus, that the exploration of a Chinese-type path to socialism was once again put on the daily agenda.

At the end of March 1979, in a speech at the party's conference on theoretical work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that for China to achieve the four modernizations, there were at least two important characteristics that had to be looked at: one, China had a poor foundation to start with; and two, it has a large population and little cultivated land. Chinese-type modernization must proceed from China's characteristics. In May 1980, he clearly pointed out in a conversation that socialism could not be built according to one pattern. He said that circumstances in each county were widely different; in some the people's consciousness was high, in others low; and within countries the state of class relations and the balance of power among the classes were not at all the same. Therefore, he asked, how could a rigid formula be applied mechanically? Afterward the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee summarized in 10 points the Chinese-style path to building socialism; at the 4th Session of the 5th NPC, Comrade Zhao Ziyang put forward the 10-point policy for economic construction. These things have gradually enriched the content of the Chinese-style path to socialism. The 12th CPC Congress summed up these exploratory results, clearly pointed out this goal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and to this end decided on a complete set of principles, policies and measures. This was a glorious achievement of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the reality of China's construction, and also a new victory for the principle of adhering to independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands.

Now, the goal has been determined and the path clearly pointed out. We should follow the direction clearly pointed out by the 12th CPC Congress, continually carry out revolution in each aspect, and destroy the old and create the new. The integration of Marxism-Leninism with the reality of China's construction is not a matter of taking one or two actions but is a long historical process. Whatever benefits the system and practice of building a socialism with Chinese characteristics must be upheld and developed, and whatever does not must be dropped. Through reforms, China will better and more effectively take its own path of building socialism.

2. To Adhere to Independence and Keep the Initiative in One's Own Hands, We Certainly Must, Proceeding From the Fundamental Interests of the Chinese People and From the Interests of the People of the World, Formulate Our Own Policies, Must Not Follow Somebody Else Servilely, and Also Must not Be Influenced by Temporary Incidents.

The revolutionary movements of the proletariat in all countries require mutual support. Sometimes, for the interests of the international revolutionary movement, the proletariat of one country should even make fairly big national sacrifices. However, the sacrifices must proceed from the fundamental interests of a given country and the people of a given nation, integrating the interests of a given country with the interests of the international revolutionary movement. The party of each country is, independently and on its own initiative, to decide to make this policy decision; it definitely cannot take orders from certain older parties or from a superpower, following somebody else servilely and forfeiting the principle of its own sovereignty. In the initial period of the war of resistance against Japan, some people advocated that the army led by our party open a front in North China to fight the Japanese army invading China head-on, because seemingly only in this way would we be able to assist the socialist Soviet Union. Our party did not accept this mistaken proposition, but made the strategic policy decision to carry out, with independence and keeping the initiative in its own hands, guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear, with the result that it obtained the great victory in the war of resistance against Japan. This suited the Chinese nation's fundamental interests of seeking survival and liberation, and at the same time was an effective support to the Soviet Union's antifascist war.

Now, the building of socialism in our country is being carried out amid increasingly frequent international contacts. We have established normal and friendly relations with many countries, and at the same time we are developing foreign economic and cultural interchange on an increasingly widespread scale. Practice proves that this open-door policy is completely correct. We are doing this, first, in order to accelerate our own economic construction and, second, in order to protect world peace and to make our contribution to improving the economic situation of the present-day world. That is to say, our foreign policy takes into consideration not only the interests of the Chinese people, but also the interests of the people of the world.

In our political, economic and cultural contacts with foreign countries, from first to last we adhere to the principle of independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands, will never become an appendage to any big country or bloc of countries, will never yield to pressure from any big country, and will unswervingly protect our country's security and our nation's interests. Politically, we uphold the five principles of peaceful coexistence in relations among countries including socialist countries; do not permit any country to make two Chinas and interfere in the Chinese people's internal affairs; and do not barter away principles. In order to build a socialism with Chinese characteristics, internally we must better adhere to the four basic principles, firmly carry out and uphold the four guarantees of the socialist path, and develop socialist democracy according to the socialist direction. We absolutely cannot vacillate in these things. Economically and culturally, we utilize foreign funds, import foreign

advanced science and technology, and develop academic and cultural interchange, but this absolutely cannot affect or shake our fundamental direction in building socialist spiritual civilization. With regard to the corruption of capitalism, we must keep a clear head, firmly resist the corrosion of decadent foreign ideas, and never permit the bourgeois lifestyle to spread unchecked in our country. In his opening speech at the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The Chinese people value friendship and cooperation with other countries and peoples, but even more value their right to be independent and keep the initiative in their own hands, a right which they have obtained after a long struggle. No country must count on China becoming its vassal, on China swallowing the bitter fruit of damage to our country's interests." This expresses our staunch will to adhere to the principle of independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands.

In foreign relations, we oppose the politics of hegemonism. The politics of hegemonism means that a country uses its enormous economic and military strength to advance its own objectives and to impose its will on other countries, not even hesitating to directly mount aggression against and enslave other countries. While opposing the politics of hegemonism, we ourselves do not practice egoism. In our contacts with other countries, particularly with the Third World, we never adopt a selfish stand. Even if China becomes powerful in the future, it will never seek hegemony and will never become a superpower. If we were to yield to the pressure of certain big countries and change our policies, or if we ourselves were to take the path of national egoism, under these two circumstances we would not be able to adhere to the direction of socialism, and even less could we talk about building a socialism with Chinese characteristics.

3. In Order to Adhere to Independence and Keep the Initiative in Our Own Hands, We Certainly Must Depend on the Strength of Our Party, Country, and Nation When Engaging in the Cause of Revolution and Construction, and Stand on the Foundation of Self-Reliance.

Today we are engaged in building socialism, and we need to strive for as much aid as possible from outside forces. In particular, a country such as ours, which went beyond the stage of developing capitalism directly to socialism, is comparatively backward in economy and technology, even less should refuse to use foreign funds and the advanced technology and those experiences in managing large-scale production that conform to science of the capitalist countries, but the overall question is on what basis we should stand.

The cause of building socialism is the cause of hundreds of millions of people themselves, and to have a socialism that possesses Chinese characteristics we can only rely on the 1 billion Chinese people themselves to explore, create and build, fully relying on and giving play to the historical initiative and creativity of the masses of people in building socialism. So we certainly must stand on the foundation of self-reliance. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our

own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts." ("The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan"). Only by standing on the basis of relying on our own strength will we be able to not be controlled by others and, from first to last, be in an invincible position, and will we be able to consolidate the victory we have obtained. Especially for a big country like China, there is no country in the world that can take our place in construction, and we cannot buy modernization with money. If we were to depart from independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands, from self-reliance, we would not have any other outlet. No matter whether in revolutionary struggle or in constructive undertakings, the Chinese people consistently adopt the policy of making self-reliance primary and striving for foreign aid supplementary. We depended on self-reliance to defeat the aggression of Japanese imperialism; depended on self-reliance to defeat the Kuomintang reactionaries supported by U.S. imperialism; depended on self-reliance, under the blockage and embargo imposed by imperialism, to restore the war-damaged national economy and to begin to build the economy in a planned way; and later depended on self-reliance to conquer the serious difficulties to our economy caused by great-nation hegemonism. Today, although we strive for international aid and make full use of external conditions, we similarly depend on self-reliance to build a socialism with Chinese characteristics. If we mainly depend on our own strength to build socialism well in a country with a quarter of the world's population, this in itself would be a contribution to all humankind, and we would be able to fulfill our own international obligations in the best way.

In short, to adhere to independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands, we must oppose two tendencies: One tendency is to distort independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands and self-reliance into closing the country to international intercourse, parochial arrogance, and isolated struggle. The result of doing this would be to wallow in backwardness, and we would certainly be swept away by history. The other tendency is to worship foreign things and fawn on foreign powers, to be servile, to be at the beck and call of other's in everything, and to practice capitulationism. The result of doing this could only be to humiliate the nation and forfeit its sovereignty and to lose the fruits of the independence won by the people's revolution. We must keep firmly in mind the words of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's in his opening speech at the 12th CPC Congress: "China's affairs must be handled according to China's circumstances, and we must depend on the strength of the Chinese people themselves to handle them. Independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and self-reliance, no matter whether in the past, at present, or in the future, is our standpoint."

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CSO: 4005/936

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### KANGXI'S ROLE IN TAIWAN RECOVERY

HK111124 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Chen Zaizheng [7115 0961 2973]: "On Kangxi's Contributions to the Unification of Taiwan"]

[Text] In 1683, Emperor Kangxi's 22d year on the throne, the reunification of Taiwan with the mainland was realized. This was an important historical event in the history of the development of the Chinese nation. This year marks the 300th anniversary of the reunification of Taiwan with the mainland. I would like to make a sketchy review of that history in commemoration of this great event.

#### Use Both Suppression and Appeasement, Give Priority to Amnesty and Enlistment

At the mention of reunifying Taiwan, quite a few people hold that the reunification of Taiwan was realized by relying entirely on armed force. This is a misunderstanding. Facts show that in dealing with Taiwan's Zhengs group, the Qing Government persistently adopted a policy of "using both suppression and appeasement" and gave priority to peaceful "amnesty and enlistment" over a very long time. Even after the conquest of the Penghus by armed force in July 1683, the Qing Government continued to carry out its "amnesty and enlistment" work, thus enabling the island of Taiwan to prevent a war and forcing Xheng Keshuang to surrender to the Qing Government with the entire population of Taiwan. The protracted efforts made by Kangxi to peacefully reunify Taiwan produced fairly satisfactory results.

In 1664, after being defeated, Zheng Jing evacuated Jinmen Island and Xiamen and retreated to Taiwan to defend himself against the opposing Qing Government. The Qing Government dispatched troops at one time to the Penghus but it was foiled in its attempt by a typhoon. Nearly 10 years after that event, the Qing Government changed its policy to giving priority to peaceful "amnesty and enlistment." In 1667, the Qing Government for the first time sent Brigade General Kong Yuanzhang to Taiwan as an imperial envoy to hold peace talks personally with Zheng Jing. After taking over the reins of government when he came of age, Kangxi sent Ministers Ming Zhu and Cai Yurong to Quanzhou in 1669 and chose and sent Mo Tianyan, magistrate of Xinghua Prefecture, as an imperial envoy to Taiwan to hold peace talks for the second time. Aside from standing to his proposition that "I find it

unacceptable to comply with the assertion that Zheng Jing is ready to pay tribute and surrender to the emperor of the Qing Dynasty on the condition that he is not to be shaved as the Koreans," Kangxi made necessary concessions in other aspects. Imperial envoys to Taiwan were ordered to clearly announce to the Taiwan's Zhengs group the imperial decree which says: "If you observe the state institution and shave your heads as expected, I, the sovereign, will not hesitate to grant you high peerage with salaries to match." If Zheng Jing "is reluctant to leave Taiwan or cannot bear to leave it," "he will be permitted to live there as an honor to his intention." In this way a situation was brought about in which "soldiers and civilians work in contentment; weapons of war are kept unused in storehouses; peace reigns over the country's coastal areas and territorial seas; and the emperor worships Heaven and cherishes the people as well as appeases the people from far-away lands who settle on the island." ("Historical Records of the Ming and Qing Dynasties," Vol 2, p 272.) The objective of the policy of peaceful "amnesty and enlistment" pursued by Kangxi in dealing with Taiwan during this period was to concentrate strength on healing outstanding war wounds, to develop the economy, to ensure a settled life for the populace, to strengthen centralization of authority, and to consolidate the unification of the country. According to historical records, Kangxi took as his administrative motto the "issues of removing the three feudatories, of putting the Huanghe River under control, and of water transport of grain to the capital, which were regarded as the three principal state affairs and were written on a pillar of the palace." ("Draft History of the Qing Dynasty," Vol 279.) With great waves the natural barrier of Taiwan, the area was out of each of the Qing military forces, and Zheng Jing was satisfied with his separatist rule over this corner of the country. For this reason, peace negotiations eventually ended in failure. However, "for many years, people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits have lived in peace with each other" and the aim of Kangxi to strive to build strength through a cease-fire was thus attained.

In 1774, Wu Sangui and Geng Jingzhong instigated rebellion in Yunnan and Fujian Provinces one after another. In contact with Wu and Geng, Zheng Jing dispatched his troops to the southwest in an attempt to seize the opportunity to realize the "cause of resurgence" and to revive the "orthodoxy of the great Ming dynasty." This disrupted the peaceful situation and provoked a war between the Qing Government and the Zhengs group. At that time Kangxi maintained that military forces should be concentrated on a large scale to suppress Wu Sangui, who was "the first to encourage rebellion" and that the policy of dealing with each case on its merits should be adopted with regard to Geng and Zheng. In September of the same year, in his instruction to Lang Tingzuo, the newly appointed governor of Fujian Province, Kangxi clearly pointed out: "When you, Lang Tingzuo, take office in Fujian Province as governor, you ought to adopt a policy of appeasement in dealing with the pirates and a policy of suppression or a combination of the two with Geng Jingzhong." ("True Records of Emperor Kangxi.") However, having had a wrong appraisal of the situation then and, in particular, after occupying the seven coastal prefectures in Fujian and Guangdong Provinces, such as Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, Huizhou, and Chaozhou, Zheng Jing



was filled with arrogance and considered himself unsurpassable in the world. In the early days when Geng Jingzhong and Zheng Jing were hostile toward each other, Zheng Jing insisted on fighting Geng Jingzhong's troops to gain spheres of influence. After Feng Jingzhong surrendered to the Qing Government in 1676, Zheng Jing became the main separatist force in the southeast coastal areas, a force which directly contended with the Qing forces. This time Zheng Jing dispatched officials, four times in succession, to carry out peace talks with the Qing Government, and all offers were rejected with invented pretexts due to unreasonable excessive demands. In 1680, the Qing Government once again dispatched its troops and recovered Jinmen and Xiamen. Zheng Jing once again had to flee to the Penghus and Taiwan and put up a strong defense there. There was a change in the situation between the Qing Government and the Zhengs groups.

At that time Fujian Governor Yao Qisheng proposed that "I would personally command the marines to storm and capture Taiwan," but provincial naval Commander-in-Chief Wang Zhengse maintained that "it is unwise to make a hasty proposal to march troops forward," and that "we should suspend troop dispatchment for the time being," and "we should progressively carry out the policy of recruiting deserters and traitors." As far as the front generals and commanders were concerned, "each aired his own views and disagreed with each other." In light of the actual conditions then, in August of the same year, Kangxi instructed the Ministry of War: "Suspend the dispatchment of troops to Taiwan and the Penghus and instruct the governor general, military governor, and other officials to offer amnesty and enlistment to rebels," ("True Records of Emperor Kangxi") and "it is not too late to attack them if they go further so as to obstruct education." ("Records of Kangxi's Daily Life") Feeling hopeful about the peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question, Kangxi adopted a wait-and-see policy, awaiting a favorable opportunity to settle the question. Because Zheng Jing clung to separatist rule and adopted the calendar officially used in the conquered Ming Dynasty, the "amnesty and enlistment" plan once again fell through. In 1681, Zheng Jing "suffered a stroke and could not speak" and died a few days later. Regent Ke Zangxuan was put to death by hanging and Keshuang, aged 12, the youngest son of Zheng Jing, succeeded to the throne with his uncle Zheng Cong acting as regent. In those days within the Zhengs group "there was suspicion between uncle and nephew and disintegration between civil and military officials." Fu Weilin and Liao Kangfang, officials under Zheng Jing, were very much inclined to going over and pledging allegiance to the Qing Government, and they made secret reports to the governor of Fujian Province one after another and asked the former "to dispatch troops to save the people from untold miseries as soon as possible." In light of this situation, the Fujian governor general, military governor, and generals stationed in Fujian held a secret meeting in Quanzhou and immediately submitted to the Qing Government a joint letter urging that "we should drive straight on to the bandits' den whenever it is convenient." After submitting to the proposal to the meetings of royal councillors and of government ministers, on 21 July of the same year, Kangxi issued an order: "Seize the opportunity to make plans for recovering Taiwan and the Penghus." ("True Records of Emperor Kangxi") On 10 September,

Kangxi appointed Shi Lang to be commander-in-chief of the naval forces in Fujian Province, bearing the titles of general and of junior tutor of the heir to the throne and sent the latter to Fujian Province "to set a date for leading the naval forces in storming and capturing the Penghus and Taiwan." (Ibid) Having issued the order to advance to storm and capture Taiwan, Kangxi still clearly instructed: "Be sure to adopt a policy of using both suppression and appeasement and to establish peace in our coastal areas and territorial seas after the insurgence is put down." He still did not abandon the possibility of realizing peaceful "amnesty and enlistment."

"Surrender Taiwan and Become Loyal to the Qing Dynasty" and Work Together for Peace and Prosperity

After arriving in Fujian Province, Shi Lang immediately stepped up "troop training and the building of warships." He chose more than 20,000 officers and soldiers from the naval and land forces and some 200 warships, both big and small, and "waiting for an opportunity to set out." Meanwhile, aside from joining in a common effort to hasten the delivery of provisions and funds for troops, Fujian Governor Yao Qisheng continued to carry out amnesty and enlistment and disintegration work among the Zheng's forces. Not long afterward, in cooperation with Cai Kai and 10 other towns, Fu Weilin "revolted in coordination with the Qing forces" as expected, but they were killed due to leaks of their plan. Later on, Liu Guoxuan twice sent letters to the Qing Government for peace negotiations. While making a decision to march troops forward, Kangxi did not refuse "amnesty and enlistment" activities but he pointed out: "All Taiwan people are Fujianese. They must not consider themselves the same as the people of the Ryukiu islands and of Korea. If they show penitence and cut their hair and become loyal to the Qing Dynasty, the governor general, military governor, and other officials will choose able officials to go to Taiwan to offer amnesty and enlistment to them." Nevertheless, the Zhengs group stubbornly clung to the assertion that "they would go ashore without a hair cut." So, in June 1683, Kangxi "urged Shi Lang to march the troops forward." ("True Records of Emperor Kangxi") On 8 July, following the imperial decree, Shi Lang commanded the troops and set out from Tongshan for the Penghus. In the two bitter naval battles on 10 and 16 July, more than 10,000 people of the main force of the Zheng's army stationed in the Penghus were annihilated, the defending general, Liu Guoxuan, ran away and returned to Taiwan, several thousand officers and soldiers of the land force of the Zheng's army on the Penghu islands surrendered without fighting a battle, and the Penghu islands were thus recovered.

Following the conquest of the Penghus, Yao Qisheng advocated "driving straight on to Taiwan in the flush of victory." But Shi Lang suggested that the attacking of Taiwan should be postponed and that we should "make earnest arrangements for the placement of those who have crossed over to us and appease the local authorities, so that "the army and civilians in Taiwan will disintegrate at the news." (Shi Lang: "Records of Pacifying the Sea") Kangxi agreed with Shi Lang's proposal and also maintained that

"appeasement is a wise policy." Kangxi expounded to Su Bai, aide-de-camp of the Ministry of Works who was to be sent to Fujian Province to take charge of matters relating to provisions and funds for troops: "In consideration of the fact that storming and capturing Taiwan by armed force is bound to make our generals and soldiers worn-out and bring casualties to the people, I have, therefore, specially issued an edict to recruit deserters." ("Records of Kangxi's Daily Life") At that time, "the populace in Taiwan are all ready to free themselves from the Zhengs group and become loyal to the Qing Government and the only thing they are worrying about is that the Qing army will not come soon." (Yuan Minxi: "Travels of the Sea") "People are vying with each other to extricate themselves to become loyal to the Qing Government and every effort has been made to prevent them from not doing so but [the efforts are] in vain." After being defeated and fled to Taiwan, Liu Guoxuan was eventually determined to persuade Keshuang to submit to the authority of the Qing Dynasty when he saw that the people were reluctant to fight any longer." (Tu Zhen: "Records of Inspection Tour of Guangdong and Fujian Provinces," Vol 6) Zheng Keshuang also said, crying: "Now that the people will not support us any longer, who will defend this island to the last? There is no way to flee but by water. Therefore, the only way out is to ask for amnesty and enlistment." (Yuan Minxi: "Travels of the Sea") Then Zheng Keshuang twice in succession dispatched officials to the Penghus to ask Shi Lang and his troops for amnesty and enlistment. Being fully aware that Zheng Keshuang and the others "were forced to surrender to the government the official register and seal when they found themselves in a predicament," Kangxi still maintained that "it is also praiseworthy with their officers and soldiers as well as their people." ("Records of Kangxi's Daily Life") He then approved the peaceful "amnesty and enlistment" plan. On 3 October, Shi Lang arrived in Taiwan with his troops. "Batches and batches of the common people and original inhabitants of all villages welcomed the troops with kettles in hand." (Shi Lang: "Records of Pacifying the Sea") After the imperial order of pardon was read out in the face of the Zheng group, Zheng Keshuang and others "hailed it and kowtowed, facing the imperial palace, for being excused." ("True Records of Emperor Kangxi") Yao Qisheng and Shi Lang repeatedly issued notices to reassure the public one after another to the officials and civilians in Taiwan, reaffirming the policy that "officials will be given high positions and handsome salaries and soldiers and civilians will be appeased and treated well." (Yao Qisheng: "Messages by Yao Qisheng") Those who immigrated into Taiwan from the mainland and "wish to go to their home villages must go to register with the maritime affairs department and they will be given proper arrangements; and those who wish to stay in this island will also be allowed to do as they please." (ibid) The officers and soldiers, the common people, and original inhabitants in Taiwan were advised that "they should work in contentment and at ease; not neglect farm work since the harvest is approaching; carry out businesses as usual and not engage in monopolizing activities which are strictly prohibited by the government. Those officers and soldiers who violate the laws must be dealt with according to law. The people should live in peace and everything should be handled without delay." The fairly smooth reunification of Taiwan with the mainland was thus realized. Since then, "no trouble has even occurred

on both sides of the Taiwan Straits and the people have worked in contentment" and "strived to work together for peace and prosperity." (ibid)

In 1684, by imperial decree, Zheng Keshuang and others came to the capital. Remembering that they had made contributions in "surrendering Taiwan and becoming loyal to the Qing Dynasty," Kangxi conferred the title of grand councillor on Zheng Keshuang and the title of count on Liu Guoxuan and Feng Xifan. They were all subordinate to the top three banners and were separately given a house and land. ("True Records of Emperor Kangxi") Liu Guoxuan was put directly under the command of the Tianjin General Department of War by a special imperial decree because he was the "first to submit to the imperial decree and surrender" and was the man who "induced Zheng Keshuang to surrender Taiwan and to go over to the side of Qing Dynasty." Proper arrangements were made for other officers and soldiers who had surrendered and become loyal to the Qing Dynasty. In view of the contributions he made to the reunification of Taiwan, Shi Lang had specially conferred on him the titles of sea pacifier admiral and Marquis of sea pacifier, which was hereditary. The other officers and soldiers who had rendered outstanding service in this respect were also promoted and rewarded in varying degrees.

In April 1685, the Qing Government decided that Taiwan would be divided into one prefecture and three counties which were under one circuit surveillance intendant and that troops would be stationed in Taiwan and the Penghus separately under the command of a brigade general and assistant commanding officers. From then on, under the unified jurisdiction of the Qing Government, Taiwan and the mainland were more closely related and Taiwan made further progress socially, economically, and culturally.

#### Conclusion

To sum up, a war could be avoided in Taiwan and the peaceful return of Taiwan to the Qing Dynasty could be realized only in a situation in which the attacking Qing army had reached the Penghus and the officers and populace of Taiwan energetically cooperated with the Qing Government, which launched the "amnesty and enlistment" offensive in Taiwan. The success of the peaceful reunification of Taiwan was not unconnected with the "amnesty and enlistment" work which Kangxi had persisted in for a long time. Of course, the ultimate realization of the peaceful reunification was above all backed by powerful strength. At that time, the mainland was already under one rule and the Qing Dynasty held an overwhelming position in manpower, material resources and military strength, and the populace was inclined to reunification and all people longed for peace. In a situation in which there was a great disparity in the relative strength between the Qing Government and the Zheng group, if Taiwan was suppressed by armed force, the Qing Government "would have wiped out the latter" "as easily as crushing dry weeds and smashing rotten wood," just as Shi Lang pointed out. However, even in such a favorable situation, the Qing Government still strived to carry out its "amnesty and enlistment" work. This was more conducive to the state and the people. Governor Yao Qisheng did

a lot of work in offering "amnesty and enlistment" to Taiwan's Zheng group under Kangxi's policy of "using both suppression and appeasement." Shi Lang, who was specially entrusted by imperial decree to suppress the Zhengs group in Taiwan, could "pacify insurgence for the sake of the country" and "did not kill deserters and prisoners out of personal grievances" although "he had scores to settle with the Zhengs group which murdered his father and family," (Chen Yan: Biographies of "Fujian Gazette," Vol 35) and moreover, he attached importance to the work of recruiting deserters. They were the main executors of Kangxi's policy of reunifying Taiwan peacefully and made their own contributions respectively."

In 1661, Zheng Chenggong marched eastward to drive the Netherlands colonists out of Taiwan and eventually recovered Taiwan, thus making tremendous contributions to protecting China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. But although the descendants of Zheng Chenggong, represented by Zheng Jing, who clung to separatist rule, did some useful work in the socioeconomic development of Taiwan, and politically, they became a reactionary force which hindered the reunification of the motherland. Twenty-two years following the recovery of Taiwan by Zheng Chenggong, Emperor Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty, who opposed the Zhengs group in Taiwan, realized the reunification of Taiwan with the mainland. This was of great historical significance for the consolidation of the country's southeast coastal areas and territorial seas and for the safeguarding of the reunification of the motherland. So, seen from the protection of the independence and unification of the motherland, it can be said that Kangxi was the successor to the cause of Zheng Chenggong. Both Zheng Chonggong and Kangxi were outstanding persons who made important contributions to the historical development of the Chinese nation. They must be esteemed and commemorated by the Chinese people forever.

CSO: 4005/1037

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### OVERCOME COMMERCIALIZATION OF LITERATURE, ART

HK181113 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by Lin Mohan [2651 7817 3211]: "The Tendency Toward the Commercialization of Literature and Art Must Be Urgently Overcome"]

[Text] In his "Government Work Report" given at the Sixth NPC, Premier Zhao Ziyang fully endorsed the achievements over the last few years in literature and art and, at the same time, he also pointed out a few shortcomings in literary and artistic work and seriously criticized the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization within ideological and cultural spheres, the corrupt ideology of "looking only at money" and certain tendencies towards commercialization in the way some works and some performances give no regard to social results. These criticisms were well aimed and were both extremely important and well-timed.

When discussing this problem some comrades have not fully come to understand the nature of commercialization and its causes. For example, some people say that if we want to stop commercialization then we should not continue to sell tickets for performances. This is very clearly incorrect. The socialist society has not abolished commodities and today we still need a great deal of effort to develop socialist commodity production and commodity exchange. However, we know that commodities in a socialist society are not the same as those in a capitalist society. The aim of a capitalist who produces commodities is merely to make money and to achieve the greatest possible profits. In his eyes, "making money is man's ultimate and only purpose." Marx drew on the words of an English critic to formally illustrate that the essential nature of a capitalist was to seek profits: for a 50 percent profit the capitalist will take a risk, for a 100 percent profit he will trample every law in existence, for a 300 percent profit he will commit any crime and even risk the guillotine. A capitalist society is a commodity society and one can trade in anything and everything. In other words, money dictates everything and thus all sorts of evil may result. In order to make money the capitalist manufactures the means of production and the livelihood consumer products needed by the people. Because the capitalist is able to sell anything, he also manufactures all sorts of bad things, such as drugs, gambling paraphernalia, and even pornographic and corrupting films, television programs, books, and pictures and so on. In a capitalist society, although there are some true and honest writers and

artists who are able to resist the capitalist urge and who are not swallowed up in the filth, there are many writers and artists who are unable to shake off the bondage of money, and some of them find themselves reduced to capitalist commodities.

The socialist society cannot abolish commodities and thus in terms of the form of commodity production and exchange, there may appear to be no differences from capitalist commodities but in actual fact there are differences. The commodities in a socialist society exist to satisfy the immediate needs of the people and their livelihoods. The fact that they also require a small amount of profit is because through the profit it is possible to accumulate funds for expanding production, organizing education, hygiene and so on, and thus in the final analysis these commodities are for the welfare of the people. Hence we could in no way condone the production and marketing of material or spiritual commodities which would damage the people. The low quality of material commodities mainly results in economic losses while damaging spiritual commodities produce unhealthy aftereffects which are difficult to estimate. Literature and art belong to the realms of the superstructure and they play an important role in the socialist spiritual civilization. We have to sell tickets for plays and films and when books are published money must change hands, and in addition, the necessary economic accounting must be carried out in accordance with the state's policies, but these spiritual commodities are different from material commodities such as clothing and furniture which one buys in a market and they are charged with the responsibility for helping the people establish a communist world view and for fostering lofty morals and emotions in the people as well as giving them the spiritual encouragement to exert themselves onward and forward. People's criticism of the tendency toward commercialization of literature and art is aimed at the fact that certain artists and writers tend to forget their duties and, in order to make money, they disregard social effects and pollute and corrupt the masses with damaging or low quality work. This does not in any way imply that selling theatre tickets or taking money for selling books is commercialization. Premier Zhao's report was very clear in saying that socialist commodity production is different in its essential nature from capitalist commodity production which is intent on nothing but profit.

Why should this phenomenon of commercialization occur? Some comrades say it is because the wages of most artists and writers are too low, and this may be one reason but it certainly is not the main reason. In fact, although the lives of many artists and writers with low incomes are rather difficult, these people have not thrown off their duty towards the people and they have always taken their own work extremely seriously, ensuring that their work is not commercialized for they know that even with low wages they should on no account improve their own income at the cost of polluting the ideology of the masses. On the other hand there are some whose wages are not that low at all and who, in total disregard for everything, show real desire to reap profits wherever possible. Of course the present wage system in the world of art and literature has its irrationalities and it is not able to embody the principle of payment according to labor nor the



concept of more work meaning more money, and thus reforms should be carried out on the system and the living conditions of many middle-aged and young artists and writers should be improved quickly.

Finally, reforms are being carried out among many artistic and literary groups and this is necessary, for without reform there can be no progress. Reforms are aimed at stimulating the enthusiasm of the writers and artists and promoting the flourishing of socialist art and literature as well as improving the ideological and literary and artistic standards of artists and writers and the ideological and literary and artistic quality of their work. We should, on this premise, ensure that artists' and writers' incomes are rationally increased. Some people regard these reforms simply as contracts and consider that contracts are solely for making more money. Obviously this is a very biased way of looking at the situation. However, there are some people who wrongly believe that the tendency of "looking towards money" that has emerged in the world of art and literature is a result of the announcement of reforms to artistic and literary groups, but this is not in keeping with reality. The tendency to "look towards money" and the commercialization which has emerged in the literary and artistic world did not appear after the announcement of reforms, but before, and indeed has existed for quite a time now. But nowadays there are some people who seek to make money in even more wanton fashions under the pretext of these "contracts."

This kind of trouble has in fact been brewing for quite some time and this tendency of "looking towards money" and commercialization did not occur overnight. The basic reason is the divergence of some artists and writers from the main purpose of art and literature which is to serve the people and serve socialism, and the fact that they "have used their own works as a means to making themselves famous and rich." Artists and writers and their work should help wipe out unhealthy things in society and yet some of them cater to these very unhealthy things and pander to the backward emotions and low tastes of some of the masses. Because their work is extremely influential in society it merely causes the unhealthy things in society to increase and develop. The masses expressed their dissatisfaction with this phenomenon a long time ago but it has not won our serious attention. In some areas of literature and art there is a certain amount of laxity and feebleness and in some cases faults are concealed for fear of criticism. In these same areas there has been a loosening of ideological education and high demands put on the artists and writers and thus there is a lack of courage in criticizing and struggling against these incorrect tendencies with the result that the positive atmosphere cannot develop and the negative atmosphere cannot be put down. The time has come when we must rectify this situation. If it is allowed to continue it will not only be bad for the people and for society, but art and literature itself will sink into a hopeless situation. If art and literature becomes divorced from the demands and interests of the people then the people will discard it and this will not be a decision of subjective will of the people. We must be determined to overcome our shortcomings as quickly as possible and use a new image in art and literature, and new works and a new style of work to respond to the people's ardent expectations of us.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CHINA DAILY ON EFFORTS TO PROMOTE EDUCATION

HK040102 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 4 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by CHINA DAILY commentator: "General Education"]

[Text] The new constitution promulgated last December has made primary education compulsory and universal in China. The Ministry of Education is trying to carry out the constitutional provision, by and large, by the end of the 1980's.

That is not an easy job, especially in the rural areas, where 80 percent of China's one billion population live. Although 93 percent of all school-age country children have entered school, drop-outs have been many, and those graduated have not all been up to the required standards.

A sense of urgency has been felt since last year's census revealed that 23.5 percent of China's population are illiterate or semi-illiterate. People 12 years of age or older who can read no more than 500 characters are regarded as illiterate, and those with knowledge of no more than 1,500 semi-illiterate. One needs a vocabulary of at least 2,500 characters to read [word indistinct].

An estimated 80 percent of the populace were illiterate when the people's republic was founded in 1949. The rate of illiteracy and semi-illiteracy dropped to 38.1 percent in 1964 and then to the present 23.5. Altogether 140 million adults learned to read and write between 1949 and 1982. However, with the rapid population growth, slow improvement in people's livelihood and constant interruptions by political campaigns, efforts to eliminate illiteracy and to expand primary education have lagged behind expectation. The fact that some 200 million people are still illiterate or semi-illiterate is really alarming, especially against the backdrop of the national efforts at modernization.

#### Own Efforts

The crux of the present difficulty to make primary education universal and compulsory and to wipe out illiteracy is of course, funding. The state budget is already over-burdened with financing the existing 900,000 primary schools and 130,000 secondary schools. Present appropriations are hardly adequate to maintain a stable rank of qualified teachers and the available school buildings. Any considerable improvement and expansion would be beyond the means of the state alone.

It has been proposed that, in the countryside where primary education is yet to become universal, peasants' own efforts should be enlisted and their own resources should be tapped. This seems to be the best and most practical way out in the present circumstances. With the total agricultural output value increasing by an annual average of 7.5 percent in the past 4 years, more and more peasants are becoming aware of the need of education and willing to pay for it. It is true that in some comparatively backward regions peasants have been known to stop their children from going to school and make them work on the family-contracted land. But, in the more prosperous regions--and with other regions catching up--peasants have provided buildings and hired teachers at higher salaries than the state is able to pay, to give their children a better education. In a diversified rural economy, the peasants have learned to value technical and management knowhow more than simple farm labour.

With sufficient encouragement and necessary help from the state, the peasants may very well help make primary education universal sooner than expected.

#### Opportunity

As for secondary education, it is mainly a matter of orientation. While only a fraction of the yearly secondary school graduates can get into college, the rest of them are found to be ill-prepared for the jobs they are destined to take. And the modernization of the country's industry and agriculture demands an increasingly skilled work force.

Secondary education used to be more orientated to employment. The double-tracked system, with some schools doing preparatory work for higher education and others providing vocational and technical training, was abolished during the chaotic "cultural revolution." It was branded as a bourgeois system by "leftists" for supposedly depriving the majority of youths of the opportunity to enter college even though there were only half as many colleges as there are now.

More vocational and secondary technical schools have been set up in the last few years. Their share in all the students receiving secondary education will be increased to 40 percent by 1985 and 50 percent by 1990. They will be providing a constant supply of the much needed primary school teachers, nurses, accountants, and technicians for industry and agriculture.

China's general education will thus be tailored more and more to the need of her drive toward modernization.

CSO: 4000/225

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO ON MINISTER OF COAL, EDUCATION

HK081009 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by Xu Ying [1776 4481]: "Putting Education in the Foremost Strategic Position, the Ministry of Coal Industry Pays Serious Attention to Investing in the Development of Intellectual Resources"]

[Text] "If all ministries and provinces paid serious attention to education, just as the Ministry of Coal Industry has done, it would be easier for us to improve our educational work." This was what Minister of Education He Dongchang said at the seminar on higher education for the coal industry held by the Ministry of Coal Industry in Yantai last August. These remarks of the Minister of Education were certainly not groundless. The Ministry of Coal Industry has actually made many concrete efforts to promote education. Following are facts to prove this:

- The investment in education has increased year by year since 1980, in which more than 32 million yuan were invested. The investment in education for 1983 doubles that for 1980.

- Over the past 2 years or so, 780,000 square km of school buildings (including dormitories for teachers and staff) have been erected.

- The Institute of Coal Management Cadres has been established in Beijing, in which more than 700 factory and mine directors, engineers, and young and middle-aged cadres are studying professional knowledge. Special training classes have been run in seven universities and professional secondary schools for young and middle-aged cadres. There are 53 training schools for coal cadres in various parts of the country.

- The Ministry of Coal Industry has invested in Fuzhou University, Xuzhou Medical College, Xuzhou Teachers' College, Chongqing University, and Guizhou Engineering Institute, so as to jointly run the schools. Until 1987, about 1,000 students who graduate from these schools will be sent each year to work in coal departments. Now an initial agreement has been reached with Shanghai Tongji University and the Northeast Engineering Institute on jointly running the schools. According to this agreement, there will be an expanded enrollment of 5,000 students.

- The Huaibei Coal Teachers' College has been established to train teachers for coal secondary schools.

The Ministry of Coal Industry is praised as a pioneer in intellectual investment. This is no exaggeration. The main reason for this ministry's scoring the above-mentioned achievements is that its leading body, especially its minister, Gao Yangwen, has attached great importance to education.

Why does a minister in charge of an industry take a great interest in education? How does he put education in the same important strategic position as energy production? Recently, this reporter, in order to find answers to these questions, paid a visit to Gao Yangwen, the minister.

What are the relations between education and economic construction? Comrade Gao Yangwen produced a metaphor. He said that the coal industry is just like a big tree. At present, it has a large crown but has very thin and weak roots. The trunk, branches, and leaves cannot get enough water and nutriment from the roots. If it goes on like this, the leaves will surely become withered. The "roots" refer to education. The leaves cannot become exuberant unless there are deep-lying roots. In order to develop the coal industry, it is necessary to grasp the key problem, and this is how to exploit intellectual resources.

Gao Yangwen said that in our country, coal is the main energy resource. Coal output is expected to be doubled by the end of this century, that is, to be increased from the present 600 million tons to 1.2 billion tons. This is a guarantee for quadrupling the total industrial and agricultural output value. We are full of confidence that we can fulfill this task. China's coal output ranks third in the world. In addition, we have more than 4 million valiant and industrious coal miners and staff members. However, we must not fail to see another side of the matter, that is, the cultural quality of the staff and workers ranks is low. About 70 percent of the coal miners and staff members have received an education below the level of junior middle school, and about 15 percent of them are illiterate or semiliterate. Those who have received education at or above the level of technical secondary school or university and college only constitute less than 5 percent of the staff and workers ranks, and engineers and technicians less than 2 percent. For this reason, the science, technological, and management levels of China's coal production at present are still very low. In order to change handicraft industrial production into mechanized grand production, to promote comprehensive utilization of coal, and to achieve better economic results, it is necessary to improve the cultural quality of the staff and workers and to train more talented people. This is the crux of the matter.

Gao Yangwen took up his post in the Ministry of Coal Industry in 1980. Every time he went to the grass roots to investigate and study he was sure to pay a visit to schools. After the 10 years of turmoil, the coal schools were greatly damaged. He was very much shocked at seeing that most schools had become a mere shambles, that the instruments for experiment were piled

up in the corridors, and that some associated professors lived in old and shabby huts....

Another thing also left a deep impression on him. In 1981, a vice governor of Shanxi Province went to Beijing to ask for emergency help. At that time, there were some county-run coal mines in Shanxi, which produced tens of thousands of tons of coal and created 100,000 yuan of profits a year, but they did not have a single technician. In order to reform the 260 local mines, the Ministry of Coal Industry was asked to support them with technicians. Gao Yangwen said that the Ministry of Coal Industry was dutybound to support local mines in carrying out the reform. He made up his mind to support them with 1,000 technicians so that each of the mines could have 3 or 4 technicians. However, although great efforts were made, only 400 medium-level technicians, including some technical secondary school graduates, were recruited to support the mines.

"The facts have helped us raise our level of understanding. In order to develop the coal industry vigorously, it is necessary to develop education as well. This is a guarantee for fulfilling the strategic task of ensuring quadrupling the total industrial and agricultural output value by doubling the output of coal." Comrade Gao Yangwen said that in order to develop education, we must make investment. If we now spend money on education, it means a long-term investment in production. Since we have already lagged behind, we have to double our efforts to catch up with the others. We are determined to practice economy in the other fields so as to save more money to develop education. Beginning last year, we plan to spend 3 years in renovating the existing coal institutes and schools.

Gao Yangwen and other leading comrades of the Ministry of Coal Industry have earnestly practiced what they advocate and have been campaigning for the development of education. They have placed educational work on the important agenda. The ministry's leading party group has held many meetings to discuss educational problems, at which many decisions were promptly made on matters concerning work tasks and money. They have invited experts to relevant forums and have listened attentively to their opinions on educational work. Besides this, in August last year, they made a "decision of the Ministry of Coal Industry on strengthening higher educational work on the coal front," in which the allocation of 100 million yuan each year to develop education was made a rule so as to ensure its implementation. To ensure that capital construction of the Institute of Coal Management Cadres could be carried out smoothly and that qualified teachers be transferred to this institute, Gao Yangwen personally visited the State Council and wrote reports to the State Personnel Affairs Bureau. In May this year, at his suggestion, the ministry's leading party group again discussed the plan for the development of education on the coal front. The plan required that by the end of this century, the percentage of professional personnel in coal departments should be increased from the present 5 percent to 15 percent, and that the number of these professional workers should reach 600,000. The leading party group unanimously held that in order to attain this aim, funds must be guaranteed.

In order to carry out ideological education among university graduates on the coal front and to make experiments for streamlining the leading bodies of the universities and colleges, Minister Gao Yangwen and Vice Minister Yu Hongen went to Xuzhou at the end of June last year and stayed for a period of time in the Chinese Institute of Mining Industry there. On 1 July, Gao Yangwen made a report entitled "Devote Ourselves to the Coal Industry in Order to Rejuvenate China" to the graduating students of the coal institutes and schools. He called on the students to study the science of coal, to love coal, and to "extract brightness throughout their lives." After his report, some graduating students, who did not choose coal for their subject of study before but were assigned to study in the mining institutes, expressed their determination that for the development of China's energy industry, for promoting China's coal production, they were willing to work in the forefront of coal production and to go where the motherland needed them most.

The Ministry of Coal Industry has also adopted some necessary measures to encourage ambitious youths to study the science of coal. Since last year, 10 percent of the excellent students who have developed in an all-round way--morally, intellectually, and physically, have received coal scholarships. All the students who are studying mining engineering and pit construction have received grant-in-aid. When the students or teachers go to work or practice in the pits, they receive the same subsidies and allowances as coal miners.

Gao Yangwen holds that it is necessary to promote coal education in an all-round way. Attention should be paid not only to universities and colleges but also to secondary and primary schools, not only to regular schools but also the cadres' training schools, evening schools, as well as correspondence, TV, and workers' universities. At his suggestion, a forum was held in Beijing last April on the education in secondary and primary schools in mining areas, and investigation groups were sent to the grass roots at the same time to study the situations in the secondary and primary schools. This year, it has been decided that eight audiovisual educational centers will be built or expanded. The center in Beijing will mainly prepare teaching materials for staff and workers as well as for secondary and primary school teachers. Gao Yangwen told the comrades in charge of education many times that it is not only necessary to grasp institutions of higher learning but it is also necessary to grasp universal education and to improve the quality of secondary and primary schools in mining areas, so that the children of coal staff and miners can also receive good education before they come back to work in the mines. Only thus can we have successors in our coal industry.

CSO: 4005/1037

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BA YI NOTES PRC PROBLEMS WITH OVERSEAS PERSONNEL

[Editorial Report] OW150215--(Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China at 1325 GMT on 11 July broadcasts the following items on the suicide of a PRC diplomat in Japan and the defection of a PRC scholar to Taiwan:

1. Yang Su, an important staff member of our embassy in Japan, committed suicide. According to reliable sources, the Japanese intelligence service poked its nose in Yang Su's affairs in an attempt to induce him not to return to the motherland. The Japanese intelligence service, in collusion with the KMT and U.S. intelligence organizations, more than once schemed activities to induce our personnel sent overseas to betray their own country.
2. Taking advantage of his attendance at an international conference in Canada, Ge Zhengming, an associate professor of a university in Shanghai, refused to return to the motherland. Ge Zhengming obtained so-called political asylum in Taiwan. Together with those who defected earlier, he issued a statement in Taiwan recently slandering the motherland and the Chinese people.

CSO: 4005/1037

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GONGREN RIBAO STRESSES EDUCATION FOR WORKERS

HK040744 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Bring the Role of Trade Unions Into Fuller Play With Respect to Education for Workers"]

[Text] In recent years, under the guidance of the decisions and policies made by the CPC Central Committee, undertakings concerning education for workers in our country have entered a new stage, with all-round training being carried out in a planned way and the workers educational system being gradually regularized. Through joint efforts exerted by the departments concerned, our effort for education for workers has been greatly developed and enhanced. The patriotic consciousness of the broad masses of workers has gradually been raised. In order to "develop the Chinese nation vigorously" and realize the four modernizations, an upsurge of the mass campaign of learning politics, culture, technology, and management is in the making. Trade union organizations at various levels have done a lot of work and made active contributions to strengthening education for workers. However, we should also realize that the work done by trade unions in this respect is far from enough. To effectively implement decisions and achieve various tasks and requirements set by the central authorities and to fulfill the tasks assigned by the administrative committee responsible for workers' education throughout the country concerning the work during the last 3 years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, trade unions at various levels should further bring their role into play, take the initiative in establishing closer contact with the departments concerned, and closely cooperate and rely on the broad masses of workers and trade union activists to make new contributions to mobilizing and organizing workers to march toward science and enhancing the quality of the workers' contingents.

At present, the most important work facing us is to enhance the understanding of trade union cadres at various levels of the importance of education for workers. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said not long ago: "Exploitation of intellectual resources is very important. What I mean by exploitation of intellectual resources includes education for workers. We should pay close attention to this issue." Trade unions are mass organizations which represent the interests of the working class. Strengthening workers' education and enhancing their cultural and technical levels is a matter of vital interest to the broad masses of workers. Trade unions should take an active part in management of education for workers, reflect the opinions and demands of the masses, play their supervisory role,



and uphold and defend right of workers to study. They should run schools actively within their power. They should on no account relax their efforts or turn a blind eye to workers' education because it is handled by administrative departments. In accordance with the regulations and duties assigned to trade unions by the central authorities, we should assign education for workers a most important position in the work of trade unions and include it in our annual work plan. We should grasp the work several times a year to study and solve important problems arising in the work. We should broaden our field of vision, take a broader approach, and enliven our work rather than being too cautious and putting our work within a very small scope. With regard to that work which helps workers expeditiously master knowledge and promote the development of education for workers, we should not only do it ourselves, but also take active measures to supervise and assist administrative departments to do it. In the meantime, we should support various departments concerned and those who are enthusiastic in workers' education to do it. This will pave the way for the broad masses of workers to march toward the sciences.

At present, enterprises have not done well enough in running schools. Trade unions should urge and help administrative departments to create conditions to run schools and gradually increase the number of classes and grades and expand their scale. Under the condition that education for workers is mainly run by administrative departments, basic-level trade unions may shoulder some of the tasks for running schools or organize some study classes needed by workers in light of necessity and possibility in order to make up insufficient classes run by administrative departments. Trade unions in various cities and counties should continue to run, consolidate, and develop workers' schools, constantly enhance their quality, pay attention to efficiency and speed up the regularization of education for workers. Trade unions at various levels should pay attention to, advocate, and promote study activities in a planned way, gradually guide workers to systematically study politics, culture, and science, and encourage and support them to take the road of training themselves to be qualified personnel through self-study.

With regard to education for workers, trade unions should exert more effort to carry out investigations and studies, expeditiously sum up new experiences, and solicit opinions from the masses. Since education for workers concerns the workers themselves, democratic management should be regarded as a key link. Therefore, trade unions should extensively listen to workers' opinions and demands concerning their education. At present, many problems arising in workers' education should be solved. Trade unions should focus their attention on one or two issues to conduct investigations and studies, put forward suggestions to the departments concerned on behalf of the workers, and pay attention to summing up and exchanging experiences in order to promote the development of education for workers.

To bring the role of trade unions into fuller play with respect to education for workers, we should rely on the masses to build up contingents of activists who are loyal to the education undertaking of the party and work untiringly with no thought of fame or profit. While mainly relying on cadres at their posts and full-time teachers, and regarding them as a mainstay, we should adopt various measures to encourage and organize a great number of activists

and enthusiasts to take part in education for workers during their sparetime as part-time members. Comrades of trade unions who are engaged in workers' education should do their best to study theories, guiding principles, policies, and effective experiences of workers education, so that they can continuously enhance their ideological and vocational level. Only by exploiting their own intellectual resources, can they exploit the intellectual resources of others.

Let us renovate our spirit, advance with giant strides, and create a new situation in education for workers to greet the convening of the 10th Congress of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions with our great achievements!

CSO: 4005/1059

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GUANGMING RIBAO DISCUSSES LITERARY CRITICISM

HK150845 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 83 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Criticism Should Be the Normal Order in Literature and Art"]

[Text] At the Sixth NPC and CPPCC Sessions which closed not long ago, many deputies showed their concern for the work of literature and art in their speeches. While fully affirming achievements, they also put forward in a concentrated manner some criticism of problems existing in literature and art, some tendencies toward bourgeois liberalization in particular. These opinions are sincere, straightforward, solemn, and earnest and have expressed the deep concern of the masses of people about literature and art!

Listening to criticism at meetings will greatly help comrades on the literature and art front develop their achievements, overcome shortcomings, and continue to make progress. However, such opportunities are rare.

Like those on other fronts, problems on the literature and art front should be promptly criticized and corrected. However, the routine ideological and political work in some literature and art units is weak. Nobody cares about problems which have emerged there. Only when a certain unhealthy phenomenon has developed into an unhealthy trend evoking resentment and the comments of the masses, and concentrated criticism from all quarters, will importance be attached to it and an effort be made to study and solve it. Once the problem has become a long-standing one, it is often difficult to get rid of it, putting us in a passive position in our work and causing greater losses. We should try our best to avoid such a situation.

Criticism should become the normal order in literature and art. Normally, this will not present any problem at all. However, in practice, for some time it has been rather difficult for some literary and art departments to criticize certain deviations and unhealthy tendencies. The reasons are: 1) Some writers and artists, including party members, detest criticism and fly into a rage when they are criticized. In fact, there are only one or two writers and directors who expect only praise and permit no criticism of their works, performances directed by them, their major views, their social activities, and so on. Only superficial criticism can be made after singing

praises to the full. Otherwise, they will take the criticism to heart and will even grumble. 2) Articles critical of literary and art works are difficult to write. Some comrades engaged in literary and art criticism are often "hated" by people, and some have thus "changed their profession" and have been working in other areas in order to "offend fewer people." 3) It is difficult for the press to carry critical articles. A periodical which published two articles of an analytical and critical character was described as "encircling and suppressing" writers and artists, a description which is quite sarcastic. The editorial department of the periodical also admitted that it had been pressured. Now some newspapers and periodicals carry as few critical articles as possible, or no such articles, in order not to make "a bad name."

Literary and art criticism is now weak and ineffective. Comprehensive analysis shows that one important reason for this is that some comrades have various kinds of misgivings and misunderstanding about such criticism. Clearing up these misgivings and misunderstandings will promote normal literary and art criticism, and will be conducive to opening a flourishing situation in socialist literature and art. The moment some comrades hear that criticism will be unfolded, they will ask themselves if literary and art circles will again be "suppressed." To some extent, they are justified in having this conditioned reflex of being on the alert. In the past, because of long-standing "leftist" mistakes in the guidelines for literature and art, criticism was indeed once used as a stick, thus harming a number of literary and art workers. In the 10 years of catastrophe, "criticism" was entirely given over to terrible and relentless attacks and "verdicts." This not only strangled literary and art creation but also destroyed true literary and art criticism. In the first 2 years after the downfall of the "gang of four," because of the influence of the view of the "two whatevers," the political labels imposed on the broad masses of literary and art workers during a series of previous "great criticism" were not removed. Some comrades' hearts were still fluttering with fear. The very signal of criticism made them feel like "gun-shy birds." In this sense, fear of criticism can be said to be a holdover from the past. This frame of mind, thought understandable, should be noticed. However, history advances. Although it cannot be definitely said today that no one will do things in an oversimplified and crude way again, the task of correcting things is done as far as the party Central Committee's guiding ideology is concerned. Departments in charge of cultural and ideological work at the central and local levels throughout the country all show great concern for, and cherish, the broad masses of writers and artists, and try to create conditions in various ways for them to bring their intelligence and wisdom into full play. In our country over the past few years, not a single writer or artist has been stigmatized as a counterrevolutionary because of his works or articles. Once individual areas and units are discovered to have done things in an oversimplified and crude way, the party and government immediately stop them from doing so again. Even when writers and critics have been criticized for some mistakes in their works, they still continue to write creative articles or critiques as others do, and they are also rewarded for their fine works. All this shows that the party, the government, and the people have full confidence

in the broad masses of writers and artists, are greatly concerned about them, and place ardent hope in them. Associating criticism with "suppressing people" simply does not tally with the changed realities.

Criticism and self-criticism is a powerful weapon of Marxism. The progress of our various socialist undertakings is without exception related to criticism and self-criticism. In fact, do our literary and art works and commentaries not criticize other fronts, and society at large as well as party and state leadership at various levels every day? Literary and art work should be commended when done well and criticized when done poorly. Only in this way can literary and art work be in tune with the atmosphere of the socialist cause and the order of the daily life of the people throughout the country. On the whole, and judging with the viewpoint of one dividing into two, achievements are the main aspects of the literary and art front and the literary and art contingent is a very good one. Of course, like other fronts, not everything in literary and art circles is bright. They also have their dark side. As many comrades have pointed out, many literary works were written in a rough and slipshod way, with poor style. In some literary works and articles, the banner of socialism is not held higher and higher, but lower and lower. A few literary works even distort and make ugly the party and socialism, disseminate disillusioning, pessimistic, negative and decadent sentiments, and advocate ultra-individualism, anarchism, religious belief and irrational tendencies. The idea of "considering everything in terms of money" is rather widespread. The patriarchal system and the practice of one person alone having the say still exists among leaders of some leading bodies for literary and art work. The unhealthy trends of trying to ingratiate oneself with others, resorting to deception, and scrambling for fame and profit are also quite common in literary and art circles. The masses of people have a lot of complaints about such actions. Criticism and self-criticism is the only way to eliminate such negative factors. "We have the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad style and keep the good." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol. 4, p 1440) Criticism means washing our face and keeping ourselves clean. By means of realistic criticism under the guidance of a correct line, we eliminate viruses, guard against pollution, overcome shortcomings, develop achievements, and foster closer ties between literary and art workers and the masses of people so that the former will make greater contributions to the building of socialist spiritual civilization. This is a kind of genuine concern for literary and art workers. On the contrary, if we extol them to the sky, do not make any criticism, and indulge in defending their weaknesses and spoiling them, we are doing harm to the healthy growth of the literary and art contingent.

Some comrades worry: "Will criticism lead to a tense atmosphere and affect unity and stability?" Of course, we have all deeply realized that the stability and unity in literary and art circles did not come easily. "Do not forget unity and hard struggle; nor revitalizing China." Strengthening unity of writers and artists is an important guarantee for bringing about a new situation in literary and artistic creation. We should cherish

stability and unity on the literary and art front as we do our sight. However, as Engels said, "Unity cannot rule out mutual criticism. Unity cannot be achieved without such criticism." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol. 4, p 423) Unity does not imply that there are no longer any contradictions. Contradictions are continually resolved as they emerge. At present, as far as problems in some literary and art works, articles, and speeches which people often come across and situations of the study of the history of literature, the ideology of the literary and art contingent, the general practices in literary and art circles, and reforms in literature and art are concerned, not only do contradictions between advanced and backward understandings, and correct and erroneous understandings, and differences in understanding between some comrades and others exist, but differences involving principles such as the nature, orientation, principles, and policies of socialist literature and art also exist. We must not be surprised or alarmed at them, nor should we turn a blind eye to them. We should take an active and prudent attitude, seriously carry out investigations and studies, and adopt appropriate methods according to specific conditions to correctly resolve them by thorough reasoning and criticism. Matters make constant progress in the course of resolving contradictions. The process of constantly exposing and resolving contradictions by means of criticism is also the process of constantly consolidating and developing unity and stability. Lu Xun once said that unity of the revolutionary literary and art contingent "needs the indispensable condition of a common goal." Our unity on the literary and art front today is achieved on the common basis of the guidelines laid down by the 12th National Party Congress. We cannot give up struggle and criticism against, or indefinitely tolerate erroneous words and deeds that undermine, this basis. If one views stability and unity according to "the theory of the dying of contradictions," refrains from making necessary criticism, and avoids necessary ideological struggle simply to "save" some comrades' "faces" and to make them "calm," things will go contrary to one's wishes in the end.

Another misgiving is: Will criticism affect the implementation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and the promotion of democracy in art? We think that what is essential here is to have correct understanding of their relationship. Democracy of socialist art is a component part of the entire socialist democracy. Today, under the guidance of Marxism, our writers and artists have entire freedom to make decisions on the forms, styles, and themes, as well as the contents and understandings of social life, and the artistic treatments in their creation (including performances). We should uphold democracy in art. Besides, writers and artists should be good at listening to views of readers and the audience. The people are masters of literature and art. Socialist literature and art are literature and art with the most extensive foundation of the masses in history. The implementation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is precisely a vivid expression of upholding the party's mass line in work methods in the fields of ideology, literature, and art. Depending on the initiative and creativeness of the broad masses of literary and art workers and the people in distinguishing good from bad and passing judgments in

literature and art and in managing and properly developing our literary and art undertakings, is a fundamental characteristic which differentiates socialist literature and art from all old literature and art.

To tell the truth, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is a long- and not short-term, basic policy of the party and the state in the ideological and cultural spheres. However, it is not an isolated policy but is related to other relevant policies and plays its role along with them. As far as literature and art is concerned, we must not "break through" the four fundamental principles, deviate from the general orientation of "serving the people and socialism," or "air our views freely" beyond the bounds of the socialist legal system. Socialist democracy should strengthen the socialist legal system. As a guiding principle for the state power of the proletariat in the ideological and cultural spheres, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is guided by Marxism-Leninism and includes positive ideological struggle. "Letting a hundred schools of thought contend" includes both criticism and counter-criticism. Fear of criticism and permitting no criticism are not conducive to letting a hundred schools of thought contend. "Letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is only a means, not the end. The end is to uphold truth, to correct mistakes, to expand the Marxist ideological front, and to create and develop socialist literature and art with distinctive Chinese features. Therefore, implementing the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and upholding democracy in art do not mean "governing through inaction" and letting things drift aimlessly without leadership, requirements, and criticism. Excluding criticism from the implementation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" is not only theoretically preposterous but will cause confusion and harmful consequences in practice. In the past there was an abnormal situation in some localities in which "restrictions were imposed when confusion followed the free airing of opinions by people." Did this abnormal situation not have a lot to do with one-sided understanding and wrong practice of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend?" The correct practice of criticism must not be set against the implementation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and the promotion of democracy in art. By changing the state of weak and ineffective literary and art criticism and fostering a healthy atmosphere of criticism, we should guarantee the rights of writers and artists and the masses of people as masters in literature and art, promote the development of democracy in art, thoroughly implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and scale new heights in literature and art with full confidence. In the same way as men need air and water, various socialist undertakings need criticism and self-criticism. With the constant and orderly development of healthy criticism, socialist literature and art will certainly flourish even more.

CSO: 4005/1037

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TRADE UNION CULTURAL WORK COMMENDATION MEETING

HK031129 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Jul 83 p 1

[Report by Wang Chong [3769 1504]: "All-China Federation of Trade Unions Holds National Meeting to Commend Advanced Units and Advanced Groups of Workers' Cultural Palaces and Recreation Clubs"]

[Text] The All-China Federation of Trade Unions held a national meeting to commend advanced units and advanced collectives of workers' cultural palaces and recreation clubs in Beijing on 29 July.

In order to spread advanced experiences gained in the work concerning cultural palaces and recreation clubs subordinate to trade unions, and to further enliven the cultural life of workers, the departments concerned after discussions, selected 236 advanced units and 58 advanced collectives of workers' cultural palaces and recreation clubs and honored them with the titles of "School and Paradise of Workers" and "Advanced Collective."

Comrade Ni Zhifu, chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, attended and addressed the meeting. He fully affirmed the achievements made by workers' cultural palaces and recreation clubs, warmly appreciated the high ideological level and the excellent work style of the commended units, and put forth new demands on the future work.

In his speech delivered to the commendation meeting, Lu Zhixian, vice minister of culture, highly appreciated the contributions made by workers' cultural palaces and recreation clubs in enhancing the socialist understanding and the scientific and cultural level of the broad masses of workers, facilitating the improvement of the general mood of society, cultivating a new generation of workers, and in other aspects.

The representatives of commended advanced units and collectives also addressed the meeting.

Also present at the commendation meeting were Zhang Ruiying, vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, Wang Jiachong and Liu Shi, members of the secretariat of the Federation, and other comrades.

CSO: 4005/1059



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'SUMMARY' OF HONGQI ON ZHU DE'S WORKS

HK030507 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 2 Aug 83 p 4

[Report: Army Day Greet Selected Works of Marshal Zhu De"]

[Text] The Selected Works of Zhu De is being published today, on the 56th anniversary of the People's Liberation Army (PLA).

Hongqi (Red Flag), the theoretical magazine of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, has published two articles to mark the publication of the Selected Works of Zhu De. One by Yang Dezhi, the chief of general staff of the PLA, and the other by Fu Zhong, former deputy director of the General Political Department of the PLA.

Yang Dezhi said the book shows that Zhu De's talent in command and experience in building up the army is an important part of Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is regarded by the party as the system of ideas developed through the collective struggles of its pioneers.

Fu Zhong said that, the selected works embody Zhu De's revolutionary practice and theory, especially his works on the people's war, Fu believed that, while progressing toward modernization, the PLA will not abandon the concept of the people's war, as misunderstood by some foreign critics. He concluded that the people are always the source of the army's power to crush the enemy.

A summary of the articles follows:

Uprising

The history of Chinese revolutionary warfare recognizes Mao Zedong and Zhu De together from the outset of the communist armed struggles through to the foundation of the People's Republic.

Marshal Zhu De was one of the planners of the Nanchang Uprising on 1 August 1927, which gave birth to the four-million strong PLA. He was for many years the top military leader of the communist armed forces.

Zhu often appears in Chinese folklore, sometimes as a somber strategist, sometimes as a simplehearted peasant. In the do-or-die days in the Jinggang

Mountains, on the Long March and many following battles, Zhu earned a term of endearment in thousands of Chinese villages: "Our commander-in-chief."

Zhu was attacked by the "leftists" during the "cultural revolution," and died in 1976, only 3 months before he would have seen the nation rejoice over smashing the gang of four.

The Selected Works of Zhu De includes 65 articles written in the period from July 1931 to June 1962. Around two thirds of them are related to building up the people's armed forces.

In his youth, Zhu De was a relentless pursuer of Marxism, in the 1920's, he travelled to Europe to seek new ways to help China. But he did not mechanically apply foreign experiences to the Chinese revolution. In deciding how to start the revolutionary armed struggle, Zhu De shared the same thoughts as Mao Zedong, and contributed a great deal to the development of the successful strategy of using the villages to surround the cities, and then take the cities.

#### Experiences

The Nanchang Uprising took place in the capital city of Jiangxi Province. Zhu De took the uprising forces to the countryside when the city could not be defended. They planned to build up a rural base until they joined the forces in the Jinggang Mountains, which were organized by Mao Zedong in another uprising shortly after the Nanchang Uprising.

On the way to the Jinggang Mountains, Zhu De sent detachments to every place they passed, in order to mobilize the local people. As a result, when the original 1,000 troops finally arrived in the mountains, the force had multiplied ten-fold.

During the war of resistance against the Japanese invasion (1938-1945), the communist armed forces became more and more mature, and Mao Zedong and Zhu De systematically programmed the famous strategy of the people's war.

In his articles, "On the Guerrilla War in Resistance Against the Japanese Invasion" in particular, Zhu Explained that the substance of the war was a war of militia, waged by the general public, and the secret lay in a mass movement. Zhu's concept was based on his studies of the political and economic situation China faced, and on the country's manpower, weaponry and transportation.

#### Blockade

During the anti-Japanese War, Zhu De was the commander of the communist forces in northern China. His troops organized a large number of militia, harrying the Japanese by various means. The militia in turn provides a rich source of manpower to his army, which continued to grow.

Chinese communists were then based in the Yan'an area. The KMT reactionaries, in spite of the nation's crisis caused by the Japanese aggression, enforced blockade against the communist led resistance forces.

In reply, cadres and troops of the Communist Party and the local people in Yan'an started a campaign to produce all their own provisions. Zhu De was an advocate and participant in this campaign.

Following the victory in the anti-Japanese War, Zhu De was commander-in-chief of the Communist Army in battles against the KMT reactionaries who had rejected the Communist Party's proposal to set up a coalition government and had started attacking the communist controlled areas.

Zhu De was always at the core of the party's military work and, with Mao and other veteran communist leaders, worked out the programme to defeat the reactionaries 3 years later, which led to liberation.

The Selected Works of Zhu De reflects the whole course of the Liberation War. The review of the battle to take over Shijiazhuang City, for instance, was based on his field investigations. During the battle, the first to seize a KMT controlled city, Marshal Zhu interrogated captives personally, talked with some 30 soldiers in 4 days, and summed up a series of tactics of storming fortifications. These tactics were later applied by the PLA in battles to take over many cities.

#### Modernizations

The volume of the Selected Works of Zhu De proves that, after liberation, the marshal played an active role in fostering the modernization and regularization of the PLA. There are special discussions on strengthening the PLA covering training, application of modern equipment, co-operation of modern equipment, co-operation between different forces, studies of enemy armies and strategic questions, streamlining organizations, relationship between ideological work and technical work and work of the army's educational institutions.

Zhu De repeatedly emphasized that in progressing toward modernization and regularization, the PLA's good tradition should be preserved, but it should not be bound by past experiences. He believed ideological work would have to first maintain the party's leadership, then guarantee that all officers and soldiers could master modern techniques.

He paid close attention to the build-up of PLA military academies and technical forces, which has not been established until after 1949. He pointed out that every military academy and military school must realize its grave responsibility for the modernization of China's national defence. He believed that military academies should have a systemized structure and regular curricula.

CSO: 4000/225

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BEIJING TV CARRIES YU QIULI'S TALK ON ZHU DE

HK031110 Beijing Domestic Television Service in Mandarin 1139 GMT 1 Aug 83

["Television Broadcast Talk on the Publication of the 'Selected Work of Zhu De'" by Yu Qiuli, member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and director of the PLA General Political Department, entitled "Ideological Weapon for Army Building--Precious Spiritual Wealth"--date and place of talk not given; recorded]

[Text] Comrades, on the happy occasion of the 56th founding anniversary of the Chinese PLA, "Selected Works of Zhu De," edited by the Editorial Committee on Party Literature under the CPC Central Committee, has been published. This is a great event in the political life of the Chinese people and the commanders and fighters of the whole army.

Comrade Zhu De was a great Marxist. The entire party, entire army, and peoples of all nationalities throughout the country respect and love Comrade Zhu De, who was an outstanding proletarian revolutionary and strategist. He was a brilliant leader of the party, the state, and the army. In a period lasting more than half a century, he, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other comrades led our army to fight heroically and to wage arduous struggles, thus performing immortal feats for the Chinese people's liberation cause and the communist cause. Comrade Zhu De was our commander in chief who enjoyed the love and popular support of commanders and fighters of the whole army. Comrade Mao Zedong praised him as the glory of the people.

The "Selected Works of Zhu De" contains 65 articles which are some of the most important parts of his work. The book deals with military, political and economic affairs, and party building. Nearly three-fifths of the book deals with military affairs.

Comrade Zhu De's life was largely military. His contributions to the party and the people were made in many aspects. His greatest and most essential contributions were made in the military arena. Generally speaking, Comrade Zhu De's military works comprise the following three parts: 1) the aim and principle of building a people's army; 2) the strategy and tactics of a people's army and a people's war; and 3) expositions on the army's revolutionization, modernization, and regularization. Comrade Zhu De made great contributions to shaping and developing Mao Zedong Thought and particularly to shaping the military

thought of Mao Zedong. "How Are We To Build an Iron Red Army" is the first article in the "Selected Works of Zhu De." He wrote the article in July 1931, shortly before the counterattack against the campaign to encircle and suppress the (?Dongan) revolutionary base area. The article discussed a series of fundamental issues concerning the building of the Red Army, clearly pointed out that the Red Army was the army of workers and peasants and that the Red Army must be unreservedly under the leadership of the Communist Party, stressed the importance of political training, and also called for paying attention to increasing military technical competence.

The following four articles in the "Selected Works of Zhu De," namely, "The Revolutionary Army's Discipline," "On Training and Commanding Troops," "The Eight Route Army's and the New Fourth Army's Heroism," and "On the Current Situation and Army Building," incisively discussed the building of the people's army in every aspect.

During the revolutionary wars which lasted dozens of years, Comrades Zhu De, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and other comrades devised strategies at headquarters and directed many major campaigns. The following important works of Comrade Zhu De, namely, "On The Guerrilla War to Resist Japanese Aggression," "On the Battlefield in the Liberated Area," "On the Significance of Taking Shijiazhuang and on the Experience and Lessons Gained and Drawn from Taking Shijiazhuang," and "Four Talks Given at the Report-Back Meetings Held by the Operational Bureau of the Chinese PLA Headquarters," incisively expounded the strategic thinking and tactical principles concerning the people's war. These works of Comrade Zhu De were written through the use of the Marxist standpoint and were his theoretical summation and generalization of China's experience in revolutionary wars.

Following the founding of the PRC, Comrade Zhu De attached major importance to our army's revolutionization, modernization, and regularization. In his article entitled "Coordinate Training Plans and Quicken the Pace of Promoting Our Army's Modernization and Regularization" and in his other articles in the "Selected Works of Zhu De," he called for paying attention to the following things: Strengthen our army's modernization and regularization; coordinate training work; master the skill of conducting combined operation of all services and arms; strengthen the building of air, naval, and armored forces; master modern techniques of all services and arms; strengthen the study of enemy troops; strengthen our army's study of strategy and tactics; strengthen ideological and political work; strengthen the building of military institutes and schools; and train large numbers of military command cadres, political cadres, and logistics cadres who suit the needs of a modernized army. All these were important general principles for promoting our army's modernization and regularization. In short, all the important military works in the "Selected Works of Zhu De" reflect Comrade Zhu De's remarkable military talent and his rich command experience. Many of his military theories and principles are still of very important practical significance to our army's revolutionization, modernization, and regularization.

Our army's commanders and fighters and particularly our leading cadres must conscientiously study the "Selected Works of Zhu De" in light of the current army building, and do well in inheriting the precious wealth left by Comrade Zhu De. At the same time, we must emulate his scientific approach of persever-

ingly combining theory with practice; emulate his revolutionary spirit of being bold in breaking new paths, making explorations, and making unceasing progress; emulate his lofty moral character of being loyal to the people and fighting all his life for the cause of communism; and emulate his work style of unflinchingly waging struggles, maintaining links with the masses, sharing the comforts and hardships of the cadres and fighters, and becoming one with the cadres and fighters. We must act in accordance with the unfulfilled wish of Comrade Zhu De, and exert ourselves in the struggle for building our army into a powerful modernized and regularized revolutionary army, for promoting the four modernizations and defending our country, and for vitalizing China.

CSO: 4005/1059

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

1947 ZHU DE ARTICLE DISCUSSES CADRE SITUATION

HK041040 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Zhu De: "On the Cadre Problem"--"Excerpts of a Speech Delivered by Comrade Zhu De at a Military District Cadre Meeting on 10 June 1947 After He Made an Inspection Tour in Central Hebei"]

[Text] In the ranks of our veteran cadres, there are now some people like Gorlov [2047 1422 3157 1133]. They think that they have been a part of the revolution for more than 20 years. They regard themselves as having rendered a great service to the liberation of many places, and to the development of the party and the army, so they pride themselves on being veteran cadres, and think of themselves before others. But they forget that they, as Marxists, must keep on learning as long as they live. Society is always progressing, so we must often keep in mind the instruction made by Chairman Mao of "guarding against arrogance and rashness," and we must be modest and prudent.

Our veteran cadres are in fact not many. Those who survived from the great revolution period number only in the hundreds, and those who experienced the Long March and are still alive total only in the thousands. These comrades are very precious. They are respected in society and are highly treasured by the party. But they must have in mind that they should by no means pride themselves on being veteran cadres, refuse to make progress, and keep old shoes on their feet. Otherwise, they will fall behind, and their signboard of veteran cadres will be crushed.

It is wrong that some of our organizations and responsible persons regard those who joined the revolution during the war of resistance against Japan, and have been party members of more than 10 years' standing, as new cadres. These comrades are the most important component of our cadres. They must be carefully cultivated in order to shoulder the responsibility of liberating the whole country. In addition, they must be mentally well-prepared.

There are at least tens of thousands of these cadres, but not thousands, in your district. You have so many cadres, yet you still claim that they are not enough. This is because you have not straightened out your ideas on the cadre problem. You have stifled a great many real talents since you failed to promote them from the lower levels. Some capable and outstanding cadres are thus stifled in some units. Their meritorious deeds are always praised only after

their death. This is the manifestation of departmental selfishness. Cadres should often be discovered and promoted from the lower levels. We should not always expect them to be dispatched by the higher authorities. Do not be afraid that your subordinates will "usurp your power." All of you must foster your successors so that all work will be carried out smoothly no matter whether you are in the position or not. If the work in your unit falters whenever you are absent, does this mean that you are a capable man? We should not worry about the shortage of cadres if we can cultivate sufficient successors at all levels.

In the land reform, the masses rose up and drove away some cadres they disliked. It is good to do so because this will alert other cadres. This is a test from the masses. We guide the masses, and in turn they supervise us. We must learn from each other and bow to mutual criticism. Thus, we will be able to make progress.

We must train a great number of cadres. Administration must be simplified, but schools must be increased. We must reserve and train a number of cadres in a planned way so as to make preparations for future battles. This is a very important task.

CSO: 4005/1059



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BEIJING RADIO HAILS PUBLICATION OF ZHU DE'S WORKS

OW020530 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 31 Jul 83

[Station commentary: "A Valuable Spiritual Wealth"]

[Text] The "Selected Works of Zhu De" was published at a time when we were celebrating the 56th anniversary of Army Day. The works are valuable spiritual wealth, left to us by a proletarian revolutionary of the older generation. They are a record of the glorious revolutionary course traveled by Comrade Zhu De, under the banner of communism, and a reflection of his brilliant contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought, particularly Mao Zedong's military thinking.

Comrade Zhu De was a firm materialist. The materialist spirit of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from realities in all matters ran through his speeches and works in all fields: military, economic and party building. A well-known saying of his was: "The kind of war we are going to fight will be decided by the type of weapons we have, the kind of enemy we encounter, and by the time and position we are in." In other words, it is necessary to decide strategy and tactics in light of the conditions and situation. He believed that it is necessary to proceed from realities and take the attitude of seeking truth from facts, not only in armed struggle, but also in other kinds of work.

Comrade Zhu De attached extreme importance to investigation and study. Even in his late years, he still went to various parts of the country to inspect work, presenting many realistic, original ideas on economic construction and other kinds of work. Even at a time when the "left" ideological influence was fairly serious, he still tried to adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts.

In 1962, light of the broadening of the intraparty struggle, he pointed out: We shall struggle against the "left" or the right, whichever exists. We shall wage no struggle if neither of them exists. We should not make struggle a widespread phenomenon from top to bottom if something is singled out as the target of struggle.

Proceed from the reality in everything we do, and take the attitude of seeking truth from facts. This is a marked manifestation of the party spirit of a communist. In studying the "Selected Works of Zhu De" we should carry forward precisely this firm, materialist spirit.

Having faith in the masses, relying on them and always maintaining the closest ties with them was the distinguishing feature of Comrade Zhu De's revolutionary career, and constituted one of the important ideas running through many of his works. He said: All our strength comes from the masses. All our paths were also created by them. Only after we have mobilized the masses, can our work proceed smoothly and our revolution succeed.

After the nationwide victory of our revolution, there was an erroneous tendency among some party members to claim credit for themselves and become arrogant. To this, Comrade Zhu De sharply pointed out: Such thinking and behavior is a disgrace to Communist Party members. These comrades are beginning to lose the proper qualities of a Communist Party member. They will fall behind the revolutionary march and be abandoned by the party and the people if they do not mend their ways.

He pointed out: The masses alone are the heroes creating history. An individual should attribute his success not to himself but to the people, no matter how great his contribution.

Comrade Zhu De never claimed credit for himself, although his contributions were great. He never sought privileges, although he held high posts. He always maintained the closest ties with the masses, and was deeply loved and respected by the people of all nationalities throughout the country. In studying the "Selected Works of Zhu De," it is necessary to carry forward precisely this thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit and the mass point of view.

Comrade Zhu De was an outstanding proletarian revolutionary and military strategist. By seriously studying his works, we can gain enlightenment in many respects, deepen our understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and work better towards realizing the general tasks of the new period and strengthening the building of a modernized, regularized revolutionary army.

CSO: 4005/1059

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

YANG DEZHI WRITES HONGGI ARTICLE ON ZHU DE

OW012134 Beijing XINHUA in English 1159 GMT 1 Aug 83

[Text] Beijing, 1 August (XINHUA)--An article by a high-ranking officer emphasizes Zhu De's rich experience in military affairs, saying that the late marshal made "outstanding contributions" in creating "the road of encircling cities from rural areas and seizing power by armed force," which led the Chinese revolution to victory.

The article, in the latest issue of RED FLAG, regarded as the foremost theoretical journal of the Chinese Communist Party, is by Yang Dezhi, chief of general staff of the Chinese people's liberation army, to welcome the publication of the "Selected Works of Zhu De."

The article quotes Mao Zedong, late chairman of the CPC, as saying that the policy adopted by Zhu De of establishing base areas, systematically setting up political power, consolidating the agrarian revolution and expanding the people's armed forces was "undoubtedly correct."

Among the articles selected in the book is "how to create an iron Red Army," published in 1931, which by summarizing the experience gained by the Chinese people's army in 1930 and 1931 and advancing its strategy and tactics, says Yang Dezhi in his article, further defined the way forward for the Red Army at that time.

Yang cites many important concepts put forward in Zhu De's articles, such as combining the revolutionary army with the worker-peasant movement to gain a foothold in the countryside; fighting a guerrilla war in mountain terrain; and making use of the contradictions among the warlords and organizing the united front while expanding the revolutionary forces.

He also points out abiding themes in Zhu De's works, such as the guiding principle in commanding the revolutionary war that a people's war relies on the masses.

Another article in this issue is by the well-known General Fu Zhong, who also speaks highly of the contributions Zhu De made towards the building of a people's army with fine traditions of serving the people.

CS0: 4005/1059

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GONGREN RIBAO ON DENG'S 'SELECTED WORKS'

HK151552 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 83 p 2

[Article by Chen Jinyu [7115 6651 3768]: "An Important Guideline--On Reading Deng Xiaoping's 'The Working Class Must Make Outstanding Contributions to the Realization of the Four Modernizations'"]

[Text] The article entitled "The Working Class Must Make Outstanding Contributions to the Realization of the Four Modernizations" is taken from a speech made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in October 1978 at the Ninth National Congress of Chinese Trade Unions. This speech indicated the direction of the development of China's workers' movement and the development of the trade union work under the historical conditions for modernized construction. The speech is also a guiding article for China's working class movement and it represents an important compass. To study thoroughly and to implement the spirit of this speech was not only extremely important at the time it was made, in terms of restoring order out of chaos, but in addition, the spirit of the speech will continue to play a guiding role for a fairly long time to come. In his speech Comrade Deng Xiaoping focused on three questions, and in our present studies we must be sure to understand fully the spirit and essential nature of these three points.

#### 1. On the Historical Position and Historical Role of the Working Class

During the 10 years of turmoil, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and their counter-revolutionary factions supported a group of evil people and dominated a part of the organization of the working class so that they became a tool by which they could usurp the party's powers. They incited factionalism, armed struggle, and work and production stoppages amongst the workers. They also advocated and called for "the need to occupy all areas of the superstructure" and they sent out "propaganda teams" of workers to "seize power." These perverse acts, committed by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and their counterrevolutionary cronies resulted in serious aftermath and also undermined the image of the working class. For these reasons the people's understanding of how to regard the working class accurately after the smashing of the "gang of four" was not unified. In this speech of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's, he stands on a high level of historical materialism and sees through the image to the essence and categorically states "The Chinese working class is unashamedly the well-tested and firmly entrenched leading

class in the revolution." In saying this he made a strict distinction between the heroic struggles of the working class and the counterrevolutionary destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." He also made a distinction between the great historic contributions of the working class and the vile actions of a small minority of scum caught up in the working class ranks, such as Wang Hongwen and Chen Ada. In this way he preserved the glorious image of the working class.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the advancement towards the four modernizations became the common aspiration and aim of struggle of all the people in China. Realization of the four modernizations would be impossible without modern scientific and cultural knowledge and thus, naturally, the position and role of knowledge and the intellectuals within socialist modernized construction won people's attention and it was especially important to correct resolutely the "leftist" errors of underestimating and attacking intellectuals which took place during the 10 years of turmoil. In the light of the situation, some people incorrectly thought that with the intellectuals in favor, the ruling position of the working class would be lowered and they would be ignored by the party. Such thinking as this was without basis. Today the intellectuals have become an integrated part of the working class and paying attention to intellectuals means paying attention to the working class. In his speech Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly pointed out that "the most important characteristic of the working class is its linkage with socialized large-scale production and for this reason it boasts the highest consciousness and the strongest discipline and thus is able to play the leading role in modern economic development and socio-political development." This conclusion was a scientific summary achieved by the party by using general principles of Marxism and by analyzing the historical mission and historical position of the working class in China under the new historical conditions that exist. As long as we fully understand this conclusion then it is easy to understand that in the wake of the complex situation which existed after the smashing of the "gang of four" the party Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping had total political trust in the working class, supported the working class, and relied on the working class, and indeed their hearts were all interlinked.

## 2. On the Historical Position and the Historical Role of the Trade Unions

In his speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping fully endorsed the accuracy of the direction, principles, and tasks of the workers' movement as outlined at the Sixth National Labor Conference and the Seventh and Eighth National Congress of Trade Unions. He also confirmed that the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, as well as all trade union organizations at all levels, had done a great deal of good work under the leadership of the party and that they had played an important role in the socialist revolution and the developmental victories of construction. He also listed the new important tasks facing the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in this new era and enounced such erroneous beliefs as considered the trade unions to be "nonessential organizations." These new, important tasks were 1) the trade unions must teach all their members to appreciate the significance of

achieving the four modernizations and to strive hard to improve their own political, managerial, technological, and cultural standards. 2) The trade union must make great efforts to promote the realization of democratic management in enterprises and fully guarantee the rights and powers of the worker as master of his situation. 3) The trade unions must work hard to guarantee the welfare of the workers. The trade unions should supervise and help enterprise administration and regional administration within all possible limits. They should work hard to improve the working conditions of the workers as well as their living conditions, eating and drinking conditions, and hygiene conditions and at the same time they should also actively develop all kinds of activities amongst workers which promote mutual help.

It is especially important to note Deng Xiaoping's discussion in his speech of the nature, tasks, and powers of the workers congress system and problems of organizational structure. It is true to say that the important measures which have been adopted in recent years by the party in promoting democratic management of enterprises, in drawing up and publishing regulations for the workers congresses and in trial running the democratic election of grassroots leadership cadres are all the concrete realization of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important policies. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said "the trade union in each enterprise will become a work body within the workers congress and the workers' committee." This gives new tasks to and puts new demands on the trade union in terms of its important role in developing socialist democracy. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's comments on the position, nature, and role of the trade union in the light of the new historical conditions have enriched Lenin's basic thinking on the nature and role of the trade union.

### 3. Concerning the Strengthening of the Self-Construction of the Trade Union Organizations

The trade union is a mass organization voluntarily formed by the working masses under the guidance of the party, and it should maintain close contact with the working masses. How can the trade union organizations maintain close contact with the working masses? Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that the trade union must be run "as an organization which can represent the words and actions of the working people and in which the working people may have total confidence. It should not be an organization which lies to the workers, nor should it use membership fees merely to act as high officials and bureaucrats, only representing the private interests of a small minority." In order that the trade union should achieve these aims, cadres in the trade union and the trade union organizations must be "models of democracy" and models of "arduous struggle, public spiritedness, strict discipline, submission to transferal, and love for the factory as if it were one's home." Only if it is run in this way can the trade union enjoy a high degree of credibility amongst the working people and can it make great contributions to the four modernizations. As one of the old generation of revolutionaries, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's ardent expectations and urgings toward the cadres of the trade unions are worthy of our deepest

consideration. The mass of cadres in the trade unions are good or fairly good people and many of them have involved themselves in hard work for many long years, willingly bearing the burden of office without attracting public attention in their service to the working masses. But, as far as having the courage to speak for the workers and act on their behalf is concerned, have they not perhaps already reached the limits of their own duties? Is it not true that some of the trade union cadres have become infected with an officiousness far removed from reality and the people? For example, when the workers now go to work, the trade union cadres go to work too. When the workers leave work, the trade union cadres leave work too. Are there not some areas in the style of such activities as these which are worth changing in order to increase contact with the workers?

We believe that as the socialist modernization program develops, the important views that Deng Xiaoping expressed over 4 years ago concerning work in the trade unions will see further implementation in real life and there will undoubtedly be further progress in the voluntary moves towards youthfulness, revolutionariness, expertise, and specialization by the cadres of the trade unions and thus a new situation will open up in trade union work.

CSO: 4005/1037

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DENG'S 'WORKS' CREATING NEW PERSONALITY CULT

OW142351 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 11 Jul 83

[Text] Over 12 million copies of the first edition of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" have been printed. A mammoth campaign to study the "Selected Works" has been whipped up, calling on the whole army and the entire nation to regard studying the "Selected Works" as being even more important than studying the NPC documents. All this cannot but remind one of the time when the works of Mao Zedong were published many years ago.

Most strange apparently is the fact that not only is it claimed in several articles of the "Selected Works" that personal cults brought near disaster to the whole party and the people of the whole nation, but that also the mistake of the "two whatevers" is denounced and Comrade Hua Guofeng is criticized for creating his own brand of personal cult and defending the old personal cult.

Let us take a look at the present situation. Marx once said that some historical mistakes appear to be tragedies only when they are committed for the first time but turn into farces when repeated. The 3d plenary session of the 11th party Central Committee laid down a correct ideological and political line; the 4th plenary session solved certain organizational problems; the 5th plenary session adopted the "Guidelines for Inner Party Political Life"; and the 6th plenary session adopted the "Resolution Concerning Certain Historical Problems." To a certain degree, these plenary sessions all opposed personal cults. However, some time ago someone in the central organs gradually began violating the resolutions adopted at these plenary sessions and created the "two new whatevers": whatever principles and policies have been adopted since the 3d plenary session, they are all correct; whatever utterings are made by a certain person, they must be compiled with.

From listening to the speeches of many leading comrades and from reading newsprints and magazines, one is led to believe that a certain person has been credited with all victories won and all achievements made since the downfall of the "gang of four"; that this person is entrusted with all the hopes of the people and the destiny of the state; and that the role this person plays has been disproportionately exaggerated.



The fact is that since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee everything has been far from smooth sailing for us. For instance, in handling Sino-U.S. and Sino-Vietnamese relations, implementing the "open door" economic policy, dealing with the so-called "Lin Biao case" fabricated by the "gang of four" and in redressing mishandled cases involving several tens of thousands of wronged army cadres, mistakes of varying degrees were made.

Of course, correct assessment of the merits of revolutionaries of the old generation and the roles of the Chinese revolution and the Chinese people is necessary for the study of history and the education of future generations. But to take advantage of this assessment of merits to exaggerate one's own role is counterproductive. As the saying goes, "overstepping the truth means creating a fallacy."

Obviously, on the one hand, the current emergence of the "two new whatevers" is to a certain degree related to a certain leading comrade of the central authorities; on the other hand, overprojecting one's own image and accepting and encouraging personal worship of oneself by others are main factors contributing to this current fad.

To implement the resolution on opposing personal cults adopted at several past plenary sessions of the party Central Committee, leading comrades of the central authorities must first of all consciously promote the practice of not overprojecting one's own image. Such new practice will doubtless play a vital role in perfecting the democratic way of life of the party and the state and in accelerating the four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/1037

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BY YI CRITICIZES OVERPRAISING DENG'S WORKS

OW050315 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 3 Aug 83

[Text] Army units are organizing cadres at and above the regimental level to study and discuss the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" in accordance with the circular issued by the General Political Department on conscientiously studying this work.

In their study, many comrades have integrated the essence of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important work with the specific situation at present, in line with the circular of the General Political Department. They point out: For many years one of the biggest problems in our work is that, although the speeches and reports of leaders of the central authorities and many of the resolutions adopted are quite correct, they are not implemented properly and certain leaders of the central authorities have taken the lead in disregarding them.

In his report on the reform of the party and state leadership system. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: After 1959 the party's and state's democratic life gradually became abnormal. Major problems were decided by certain individuals. The personality cult, the practice of placing an individual above the party organization, and other patriarchal practices escalated constantly. Even after the downfall of the gang of four, we continued to go in for the personality cult for a while. Recently the central authorities issued directives urging us to refrain from publicizing individuals, pointing out that the abovementioned practices advocated the view that history was created by certain individuals. This is contrary to eliminating feudal and bourgeois thinking and influence.

His remarks are undoubtedly correct. However, 3 years after he made the above-mentioned speech, the personality cult and the practice of placing an individual above the party organization has still not been eliminated. Taking the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" as an example, the circulars issued by the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and the PLA General Political Department and the publications of the party and various offices consider the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" as more important than the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and the National People's Congress. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" have been described of epoch-making significance and as a brilliant book of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought marking a period of great historical change. These circulars and publications point out that this work is not only of imperishable historic significance, but is also of great importance in guiding China's socialist construction at present and in the future.

We ask: What is the difference between this praise and publicity centered on the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and the way the "Selected Works Mao Zedong" and "Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong" were publicized by the gang of four at one time?

Today, no important decision of the party or the government and no appointment of leading personnel for a central department can be decided without the approval of Deng Xiaoping. Among party and state leaders, Comrade Deng Xiaoping ranks fourth. However, when receiving delegates to a meeting or foreign delegations, the chairman of the party Central Committee [Dang Zhong Yang Zhu Xi], the president of the Chinese People's Republic and the chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress must all walk behind Comrade Deng Xiaoping. This kind of practice is immensely patriarchal in color, is contrary to eliminating feudal and bourgeois thinking and influence, and undermines the fine style of the party. It should be pointed out that no correct resolution, speech or instruction can have practical significance unless it is translated into create action.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUANG KECHENG ON PARTY'S RELATIONS WITH PEOPLE

HK010921 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Lu Dianxu [4151 3013 1331], reporter of Heilongjiang's DANG DI SHENGHUO [PARTY LIFE]: "'We Cannot Survive Without the People's--An Interview with Huang Kecheng, Revolutionary Forerunner and Second Secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission"]

[Text] "How are you, our venerable Comrade Huang!" With a feeling of great reverence, we firmly clasped our venerable Comrade Huang by the hand and extended our greetings to this veteran revolutionary.

"Fine, fine." He said and asked us to sit down. The kindness and amiability of venerable Comrade Huang soon dispelled my feelings of restraint.

Venerable Comrade Huang wore a blue uniform, which had become grey and white, showing signs of wear. The lower front and wristbands of his brown woolen sweater were already worn out, and the black cloth shoes on his feet were also worn down. I fixed my eyes on the tea mug at his right hand side. I could not tell how many years this ordinary enamel mug had been in use. Its enamel surface was chipped and the lid was connected to the handle by a metal plate.

Venerable Comrade Huang joined the revolution in 1923 and became a party member of 1925. He is one of the veteran revolutionaries who were the first to carry out struggles in the Jinggang Mountains. He was commander of the 35th regiment of the fourth army of the Red Army in 1925, member of the seventh and the eighth CPC Central Committee, and a well-known general of the people's army led by our party. After liberation, in successively held the [word indistinct] posts of secretary of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat, secretary general of the Central Military Commission, first deputy minister of national defense, and chief of the headquarters of the general staff of the Chinese PLA. At the Lushan meeting held in 1959, venerable Comrade Huang, who had realistically made some criticisms, was wrongly criticized as a member of the "Peng Dehuai, Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian, [words indistinct] anti-party clique and was discharged from all his posts inside and outside the party. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," venerable Comrade Huang was attacked and persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." He was physically injured and mentally affected. At the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, he was reelected as member of the CPC Central Committee and held the

post of executive secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. Now, at the advanced age of 81, venerable Comrade Huang is holding the post of second secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. The years of arduous struggles have made the hair on his temples white and the persecution by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as well as the hard struggle and work have deprived him of his eyesight. However, the firmness and fortitude of those years still remain on his thin face.

"Please raise your questions if you have any," he said with a strong Hunan accent.

We asked venerable Comrade Huang to say something about the work and battles in Western Manchuria.

Venerable Comrade Huang has a very good memory. He recollected some past events. For example, soon after the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan, Chairman Mao sent a telegram to him, ordering him to push the army forward into Northeast China and to take charge of the daily work of the Western Manchuria sub-bureau. He also recalled the work of suppressing bandits, land reform, rehabilitating the economy, establishing political power at various levels, and expanding the people's army at that time.

Venerable Comrade Huang said with deep feeling: "Since we had mobilized the masses and had been backed by the masses, the northeast was liberated." At that time, under the extremely difficult condition that the masses of people still did not have a good understanding of our party and army, that there were neither military nor material supply bases, and that there were bandits everywhere, the leaders of the Western Manchuria sub-bureau and military district, chiefly represented by Comrade Li Fuchun and venerable Comrade Huang, took the mobilization of the masses and doing mass work as a fundamental task. Soon after the city Qiqihar was captured, the Western Manchuria sub-bureau instructed that in this ruined city which was filled with the smoke of gunpowder, the electric lamps should be lit, the streets should be cleaned, and the sewers should be cleared. This was supported and praised by the people of various circles. To maintain close ties with the masses and never be divorced from them was a fundamental requirement for all cadres at that time. A large number of cadres were also sent to work in the countryside and among the masses. Venerable Comrade Huang personally gave mobilization talks to the cadres, requiring them to identify themselves with the masses and to share their comforts and hardships. The cadres then put forward some slogans, which said: "Work hard for the toiling masses!" "That the toiling masses having nothing to eat and to wear means having nothing to eat and to wear in our own family!" and "The toiling masses being bullied is just like our own brothers being bullied!" The broad masses of cadres earnestly practiced what they advocated. The relationship between the cadres and the masses, who had a common destiny, became one of perfect harmony. Once, when Comrade Gu Dacun, director of the organizational department of the sub-bureau, went to Zhaozhou County to mobilize the masses, the village was suddenly surrounded by the enemy. At the risk of their lives, the masses there dressed Comrade Gu Dacun, who spoke with a southern accent, in a groom's clothes and helped him escape danger....

What a moving scene in history! We asked venerable Comrade Huang why they were able to establish such flesh-and-blood ties with the masses at that time.

Without thinking, venerable Comrade Huang replied: "We owe all this to the teachings of Chairman Mao. Without the people, we cannot even survive." He emphasized: "No one can survive by merely relying on military forces! The army will not be able to do without the masses of people. The party will not survive without them either. The party emerged from among the masses. Without the masses, the party would not even have been established."

On hearing his simple and unadorned remarks brimming with historical materialism, I said: "The revolutionaries of the older generation really have a very profound understanding of this point. Unfortunately, some people's understanding of this has become blunted now!"

"This is very dangerous," said venerable Comrade Huang with anxiety, turning his thoughts from history to reality. "The party is divorced from the masses. Some people are seeking their private interests and profits, regardless of those of the masses, and have thus placed themselves against the masses. They have only paid attention to their children, houses, and cars. The masses are looking askance at them!" The last few words were said with special emphasis, showing the great indignation of this old revolutionary.

"There is a latent crisis within the party. It takes the form of showing no concern for the masses, but only for a small circle or group of people, for one's self, and for one's family members and relatives. This is not Communist Party, but capitalism, feudalism, and individualism. This is not communism and socialism! If one is seeking private gains, revolution will be entirely out of question." He was so indignant that he coughed slightly.

What venerable Comrade Huang said made me think deeply. "Water can support a boat, but can capsize it too. Therefore, we must be very careful." The attitude toward the masses of people and the relations with them are not only a reflection of our party's nature and purpose, but are also matters concerning the destiny of our party. How could it be possible that the old revolutionaries do not show serious concern for it?

After a moment's silence I said: "We are all full of confidence that the party's work style can be improved, since the party Central Committee is resolute and has a correct line, and the revolutionaries of the older generation are still with us."

"That is good," said venerable Comrade Huang with emotion. "But the old revolutionaries are really very old."

Nevertheless, the revolutionaries of the older generation are still the mainstay in improving the party's work style and are models for the whole party in this respect.

Venerable Comrade Huang continued: "Most comrades are good. Good party members and good comrades must carry out struggles against bad people and bad deeds." Then, in great anxiety, venerable Comrade Huang changed the subject

to the problem of quick promotion of cadres, which had appeared in some places in the organizational reform. He said: "We rely on old comrades. All those who have been in the party for about 30 to 40 years can be called old comrades. However, some old comrades are playing a good role, and some are playing a bad role. There are quite a few people who are taking the whole situation into account." He continued: "I appreciate your optimistic attitude (referring to what I said about confidence in improving the party's work style). However, we must do a lot of arduous work. There are many bad people and bad deeds within the party. Some people do not want to be models. They are afraid of giving offense to others and are trying to maintain their present positions. This is by no means a revolutionary attitude, but an individualist attitude!"

I told venerable Comrade Huang frankly: "The phenomenon of being afraid of giving offense to other people widely exists among the cadres."

"If people are afraid of giving offense to others, the bad people and bad deeds will remain unchecked. Thus, good people, rather than bad people, will become unpopular in our society. There will be people doing all kinds of bad things which should not have emerged in a socialist society." Venerable Comrade Huang went on in real earnest: "If we do not carry out struggles against bad people and bad deeds, we shall not be able to foster good people and good deeds. Therefore, we must fight against bad people and bad deeds rather than coexist with them. This is a matter of long-term struggle." I nodded, without saying a word.

Time seemed to fly more quickly when I talked with venerable Comrade Huang. More than one hour had passed before we knew it.

Being reluctant to leave, I firmly held the hands of this veteran revolutionary and said from the bottom of my heart: "I wish you a healthy and a long life, our venerable Comrade Huang!"

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GUANGMING RIBAO ON 'INEVITABILITY' OF COMMUNISM

HK120926 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Gu Yang [7357 7122]: "Truth, Inevitability, Communist Faith--A Discussion With Comrades Chen Chengde and Guo Fengsheng"]

[Text] On 18 April this year, GUANGMING RIBAO printed an article by Comrades Chen Chengde and Guo Fengsheng entitled "Practice, Truth, Scientific Prediction," (hereafter referred to as "Practice"). The purpose of the article, to denounce the "theory that communism is a distant, vague concept," was good, but some of the points it made are open to discussion.

Is It True That the Communist System Will Definitely Be Realized?

The article "Practice" considers that only knowledge which has been tested and verified in practice can be considered the truth. Predictions made on the basis of truth, before they have been tested in practice, do not belong in the realm of truth. "The sun will definitely rise tomorrow," and "the communist system will definitely be realized," are both unverified predictions, and naturally cannot be counted as truths.

I believe that it is inappropriate to exclude "the communist system will definitely be realized" from truth in such a simple way. Because this statement is not only a scientific hypothesis, but a conclusion drawn from the theoretical systems of historical materialism and scientific communism, and as such is an integral part of the truth; how can it not belong in the realm of truth? Moreover, as long as a prediction is scientific, then it has the nature of truth; a prediction without the nature of truth cannot possibly be described as scientific. The nature of science and that of truth are identical. The more scientific a prediction, the greater its truthfulness. As long as we have a basis for affirming that it is scientific, then we have a basis for affirming its truthfulness.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Many natural scientific theories were regarded as truths not only at the time when the scientists formulated them, but when they were later proved in practice. The reason why Marxism-Leninism may be regarded as the truth is again not only because it was affirmed as such when Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and others formulated these theories, but because it was proved as such in the practice of class and national



struggle in later revolution." ("On Practice") Though Comrade Mao Zedong stressed here verification through practice, he also clearly pointed out that scientific theories already constitute truths at the time of their creation, and that they may reasonably be regarded as truths at this time.

How then can we know that a thing which has not yet been realized is a truth? Does it contradict the fact that practice is the sole criterion for testing the truth?

In my opinion, there is no simple explanation for the practice criterion. The testing of truth through practice is a process; it runs through the whole process of the creation, formation and ultimate realization of a scientific theory. It includes practice both before and after the formulation of the theory. The truth of Marx' scientific theory of communism will not only be verified in future practice, but has already been verified in practice before and since the theory's creation. Therefore it is entirely justified to regard it as truth.

Talking about the truthfulness of "Das Kapital," Lenin pointed out: "Here, and in every step of analysis, fact, that is, practice, is used as a test." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 357) The conclusion that communism is inevitable is precisely the same; when Marx was formulating this conclusion, he used fact, that is, practice, as a test in such an analytical step. Only because of this may we regard it as the truth.

Also involved here is a question of logical proof. We know that in the final analysis, truth is verified by practice. But we cannot therefore negate the role of logical proof. Logical proof is an indispensable tool of verifying the truth derived from a basis of practical proof. Especially when coming to unlimited understanding from a limited position, people cannot do without logical verification. For example, the infinity of space, time, matter, and so on, cannot ultimately be examined through direct practice; on the basis of direct practice within a limited sphere, indirect support must be drawn from logic and theory in order to find proof. If we negate the function of logical verification, and consider that something is not a truth until it has undergone the final test of practice, then we are bound to suspect the truth of these theories.

Engels said: "If our premise is correct, and we correctly utilized the laws of thinking on the basis of this premise, then our conclusion will be bound to conform to reality." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 661) Precisely because of this, logical proof is reliable. The inevitability of communism is a truth proved by Marx and Engels through meticulous logic and theory. This is the reason for our belief in it.

Is the Realization of Communism an Inevitability or a Probability?

The article "Practice" considers that all scientific theories have in common the fact that they have yet to be verified, or what is commonly understood as probability. The statement "the communist system will definitely be realized" shares this probability.

What is called probability is also a sort of possibility, and completely different from inevitability; something may be 99.99 percent possible, but it is not inevitable.

Then, is there any such thing as inevitability in the world? Is the realization of communism inevitable? Is inevitability knowable? "Practice" takes a negative stand on all these questions. It appears to consider that all things are probable, and all knowledge is probable. For example, as to whether the sun will rise tomorrow or not, the article considers that we cannot know everything about the next 24 hours; it is possible that the sun's orbit will suddenly be thrown off course, and so the prediction that the sun will rise tomorrow constitutes a probability. By the same token, on the question of whether the communist system will be realized or not, people cannot know everything about the future, and therefore its realization can only be a probability. In short, people must, in order to know that something is inevitable, be aware of all new conditions and factors, otherwise they cannot come to a conclusion of inevitability.

In my opinion, this concept has fallen into the theory of unknowability, because only the theory of unknowability holds that with regard to the future, we can talk only of "possibility," not "inevitability."

In fact, knowing the inevitable does not necessitate a complete knowledge of all new conditions. Even a hundred Marxes could not have been aware of all the new conditions in capitalist society, but that did not stop Marx from understanding the inevitable laws of capitalism. By the same reasoning, as long as we have grasped the basic laws of the movement of the sun and the Milky Way, and the basic factors affecting the movement of the sun, then we can draw a conclusion on the question of whether the sun will rise tomorrow. Of course, that the sun will rise tomorrow is not an eternal law; the sun will eventually burn itself out and rise no longer; this is also inevitable. We can also understand and draw definite conclusions on this point.

The realization of communism is also inevitable, not just possible. Though there will be various unforeseeable conditions and chance factors in the process of its realization, they will by no means change the direction of communism. Because this direction has been decided by the law of movement of the inherent contradictions within capitalism, and proven in the development of history.

In short, there is inevitability in the movement and development of the objective world. This inevitability forges its own path through chance. Chance cannot possibly change the direction of inevitability. Moreover, inevitability is knowable. That communism will definitely be realized is precisely such an inevitability of social development recognized by Marx. We must not use chance to negate inevitability; neither should we doubt people's knowledge of inevitability or their capacity to know it because they cannot fully grasp chance factors.

Understanding the inevitability of communism is not the same as fully understanding the specific conditions of the communist system. What those concrete conditions will be, and whether or not they will conform to the vision of Marx and Engels, is another question. If in certain aspects it fails to conform to their vision, this cannot therefore negate their general conclusion that the communist system will definitely be realized.

Can Faith in the Inevitable Victory of Communism be Established on the Basis of Probability?

The article "Practice" says: "The word 'belief' is in fact an expression of a choice which must be made, that is, a choice that we must work hard in a certain direction for human society. A person who believes in the truth of historical materialism is bound to choose (that is, believe in,) the communist system."

True, if we believe in the truth of historical materialism, we must struggle for communism. But "choice" is by no means the same as "belief." Choice is established on the basis of several possibilities; if there is only one possibility, what choice is there? But belief must be based on inevitability; if something is not inevitable, how can you believe in it? We believe in the realization of communism precisely because of the inevitability of its realization.

The article "Practice" is unwilling to admit the inevitability of communism, only admitting that "the success of this prediction is much more likely than that of other predictions." Obviously, on the basis of this sort of understanding, it is impossible to believe firmly in communism. So the choice in the direction of communism supported by the article is not a chance one. It is a choice established wholly on the basis of a belief in the likelihood of its success, not on the basis of a belief in its inevitability. It can hardly be said, therefore, to be the conclusion of a belief in historical materialism.

The truth of historical materialism tells us that the realization of communism is not a question of the extent of its possibility, but of historical inevitability; there is no other road. We do not believe it, or choose it, because of the high likelihood of its realization, nor do we fail to choose or believe in other predictions because they are unlikely to be realized. Neither are we utopian socialists; we can neither imagine nor choose the direction of human society. We can only discover from the laws of history the direction of its own development, go along with the tide of history, speed up its development, and thereby facilitate the early realization of the communist social system.

In short, a resolute belief in communism can be established only on the basis of its inevitability, and a support of the so-called concept of probability cannot possibly overcome the "theory that communism is a distant, vague concept."

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### QUALITY OF PARTY WORK STYLE SAID DEPENDENT ON PARTY COMMITTEE

Nanjing QUNZHONG [THE MASSES] in Chinese No 9, 5 May 83 pp 2-3

[Commentary by Yan Jiushi [0917 0046 4258]: "The Party Committee Is the Key to the Grasping of Party Work Style by the Entire Party"]

[Text] For the last few years, certain leading cadres in Lianyungang Municipality have used the powers of their offices for malpractices in the building and allocation of houses and thereby aroused the vehement anger of the masses, who criticized: "Bureaucrats get new houses galore, the housing managers pick the best; those that have rooms will even get more, we common people merely look on and feel sore." The most notorious were the cases of five leading cadres of certain departments. For instance, one cadre in a leading position originally had a three-room private house in the city, but sold this house and occupied a publicly-owned house that was to be used for the business of a unit under his charge, and he even ordered the said unit to fix it up like new. Another leading cadre with a family of five came to occupy three houses. As he could not use them all, he let his relatives move into one. Several years ago, the departments concerned had checked and verified the cases of these comrades, and had also made suggestions on how to deal with these cases, but had never been able to take action. That is why these cases were called "heads that can't be given haircuts." In the latter part of last year, the municipal party committee decided to take vigorous measures against these evil trends. The committee started by "giving a haircut" to these "hard-to-cut heads," and the result was that the problems which had been outstanding for years were solved in a few days. In the first-mentioned case, within 5 days the person repurchased the private house that he had sold and vacated the publicly-owned house that he had occupied. In the other case, it took less than a week to have the person completely clean out and clear out of one house that he had occupied in excess of his needs. The other three similar cases involving leading cadres were also appropriately resolved within 10 days. Once the municipal party committee had firmly set about the task, it was able to quickly achieve a breakthrough in the vigorous suppression of malpractices in the building and allocation of houses. The masses were highly pleased and said: "The long-standing difficult problems, once grasped by the party committee, were no longer difficult problems."

The method employed by the Lianyungang Municipal Party Committee was very enlightening to us. Checking unhealthy trends within the party and striving for a radical improvement in the party's work style within the next 5 years is

one of the major tasks put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress, as it is also the fervent desire of the broad masses within and outside the party. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has issued a series of directives in this respect and adopted many diverse measures, which have been remarkably successful. However, we also must not hide the fact that problems of impure ideology, impure work style and impure organization still exist within our party. Certain party organizations fail in their role as strongholds in our struggle, certain leadership groups fail in their role as core leadership and certain cadres fail in their roles as examples and models. Some comrades can, therefore, not avoid the feeling that the difficulty of correcting unhealthy trends within the party is very great and that no great confidence can be placed in efforts in this direction. However, the example of the Lianyungang Municipal Party Committee, and the way they checked the malpractices in the building and allocating of houses, tells us: If only the party committee gives serious attention to the problem, shows a firm and resolute attitude, is courageous enough to tackle and deal with it and adopts efficient measures, even the greatest difficulties and obstacles can easily be overcome.

Why is it that long-standing difficulties do not prove difficult anymore once the party committee sets about the task? The reasons are:

First, the party committees at all levels are the organizers and leaders in the efforts of the entire party to tackle the problem of party work style. If only the party committees give serious attention to the task and strengthen their leadership, it is quite possible to have the entire party set about the task of tackling the problems of party work style. If the party committees do not assign an important place to this work and do not include it in their agendas, if they do not effect concrete arrangements, do not organize and guide the large number of party members and cadres in their own districts, units and departments to implement measures and take action in a planned, step by step way, the task of radically improving the party's work style will never be accomplished. Relevant to this question, some responsible comrades in the party committees have a lopsided understanding if they think that the party committee must concentrate its major energy on economic work, and that the party work style is a matter that can be left to the discipline inspection organs. There is not the slightest doubt that economic work is something that the party committee must firmly and unrelentingly take in hand, but the most basic element in effective economic work is to ensure that the political line, principles and policies of the Central Committee are conscientiously implemented. To accomplish this, it is again necessary first of all to be able to count on the guarantee of a good style of work within the party. At the same time, it is only by a determined correction of all unhealthy trends within the party that our party can act convincingly in educating and uniting the broad masses, can correct the unhealthy trends throughout our society, can arouse the constructive zeal of the masses with revolutionary ideology and revolutionary spirit and can attain the smooth development of the socialist modernizations. The facts tell us that eminent successes in economic work and various other undertakings occur only where there is an excellent work style in the party and where the political line, principles and policies of the party are effectively implemented. Conversely, where economic work and other

undertakings show little success and failures are frequent, we will always be able to trace the reasons for such a situation to the state of the party's style of work in that area. However, there are still some comrades who believe that tackling the problem of party work style will have an adverse effect on production, and they even have a saying: "Once the party's style of work is rectified, the enterprises will go hungry." This is obviously an erroneous view. It may be true that in places where unhealthy trends and evil practices are rampant, this situation may arise, but this makes it precisely clear to us that we must try hard to correct the party's work style, and it does not in the least indicate that we must not take up the problem of the party's work style. The many incidents during our struggle against serious criminal activities in the economic field, now being waged for over 1 year, have presented us with many very significant experiences and lessons. In some cases where the leading organs and leading cadres devote themselves to economic work, they ignored the four fundamental principles, ignored party discipline and the laws of the land, indiscriminately gave out mistaken slogans and looked upon those who were notorious for practicing crooked methods as able fellows, entrusting them with important tasks. The result was that they thereby helped the growth and spread of unhealthy trends and led some cadres astray to commit serious mistakes and even to go the way of criminality, had some enterprises deviate from socialist directions, thus inflicting heavy losses on the state and the collectives. Are these not precisely the evil consequences of not tackling the problem of the party's work style?

Second, in correcting the party's work style, the exemplary role of the leading cadres at all levels is of the greatest influence, and every party committee has the responsibility to directly supervise the leading cadres. Whether a leading cadre is capable of taking the initiative and setting a good example will of course mainly depend on his personal cultivation of the party spirit and the degree of his political consciousness, but he also must under no circumstances remove himself from the direct supervision of the party committee. Supervision by the masses within and outside the party is, of course, also extremely important, but the supervision by the masses can only be really guaranteed and truly effective if it is strongly supported by the party committee. Especially in the case of party members and leading cadres who have committed serious mistakes by following unhealthy trends and who refuse to become politically awakened and to mend their ways even after undergoing criticism and education, the party committee cannot but take a serious attitude, courageously take matters firmly in hand and resolutely support the criticism and supervision by the masses. In this way alone can these comrades be straightened out. At present, there is indeed a small group of comrades who persist in their nefarious practices in a very serious way and do not earnestly respond to the criticism and help proffered by the party organization and the masses to check their behavior and mend their ways, but who, on the contrary, quarrel, complain, pour out grievances and put up all kinds of fallacious arguments in defense of their mistaken stands. In the face of this kind of perversity and evil conduct, there are also some party committees who simply relent and assume an attitude of powerlessness, an attitude that will only help this perversity and evil to grow stronger and dampen the enthusiasm of the masses. Why is it that these unhealthy trends

cannot be stamped out straightway? Why is it that some cadres and some among the masses lack confidence in their ability to effect a radical turn for the better in our party's work style? One most important reason is that some "strongholds in our struggle" actually lack the necessary fighting power. In actual fact, the pursuit of unhealthy trends within the party is contrary to law and is also detested by the people. We must take a serious stand against those recalcitrant, deluded persons, using the new party constitution, this great fundamental law of the party, as our yardstick and help them get to distinguish right from wrong, raise their political consciousness and have them change their attitudes. If they have committed serious mistakes and do not change in response to all education, they must be dealt with according to the rules of discipline. If we are resolute in our determination and firmly take this task in hand, as the party committee in Lianyungang did, would the "long-standing problems" not be very quickly resolved? Of course, if we want to do that, every single member of the party committee must be absolutely firm in character. If someone is not clean himself, if "he preaches to the people as long as he is on the rostrum, but has the people talk about him after he leaves the rostrum," then he has no right to speak and no right to act as an initiator. However, the right of initiative can be regained. If a person who followed unhealthy trends in the past takes the lead and reforms himself, he can also become one of those who are firm in character. He can furthermore admonish others by using himself as example and have an educational influence on others.

Third, the problem of party work style is a complicated problem that involves a broad range of things and touches on many fields. Only measures that institute comprehensive control will enable the party committee to truly solve the problem. In the process of rectifying the party's work style, the party committee must get a good handle on the ideological education of party members, especially in the areas of party spirit, party work style and party discipline, and must furthermore carry out a reform and further improvement of various institutions. On improvement of institutions, most comrades will observe them with greater political awareness and in a more exemplary way, while the small minority who continue in their nefarious ways will be easily resisted and restricted. For instance, the reform and improvement of the leadership system, the simplification of the administrative structure, the strengthening of democratic centralism and the reform and improvement of the personnel system, of the organizational system and of various specific working systems would have an effect that must not be ignored on improving the party's work style and on overcoming all kinds of unhealthy trends. This work will only be effective if we do not rely merely on this or that department in charge of a special job, or on a person assigned special responsibilities, to solve the problem, but rather it is necessary that the party committee establish a unified organization and assume a unified leadership.

Recently the party Central Committee and the second plenary meeting of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, basing themselves on the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and the provisions of the new party constitution, set forth that striving to achieve a radical turn for the better as speedily as possible in the party's work style is a major task of the whole

party. Furthermore, they demanded that party committees at all levels view this matter as highly important, that the whole party mobilize its members with the leadership setting examples and each member assuming responsibility to bring about an effort by the whole party in the problem of improving the party's work style, so as to ensure the accomplishment of this task. This clearly indicates to us that it is necessary to have the entire party set about the task of improving the party's work style, and that the key to all these efforts again lies with the party committees at all levels. If we will only resolutely proceed according to the demands of the central authorities, we shall certainly be able to realize in a short time the radical change for the better in our party's style of work.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PARTY WORK STYLE LINKED TO COMMUNIST WORLD OUTLOOK

Nanjing QUNZHONG [THE MASSES] in Chinese No 9, 5 May 83 pp 4-6

[Article by Zhao Wenlu [6392 2429 4389] and He Huibang [6320 1920 6721]:  
"Party Work Style and the Communist World Outlook"]

[Text] The 14th CPC National Congress determined that within the next 5 years the entire party shall make an energetic effort to achieve a radical improvement in the party's work style. To accomplish this, a one-time, all-round adjustment has to be carried out in the work style and organization of the party, particularly a widespread and in-depth education throughout the entire party in the communist world outlook.

The question of party work style is in its final analysis a question of world outlook. Everyone knows that world outlook is man's overall view of the entire world; it determines man's attitude and ways of understanding the world and of his efforts to change it. Each different world outlook is the concentrated expression in ideological terms of the historical position and fundamental interests of a certain class. Because of the differences in world outlook, the principles and methods followed in realizing one's class interests and in dealing with problems also differ. As a result, the different world views of the various classes and their political parties must of necessity engender different methodologies and give service to different programs, different political lines and different tasks. This again results in the shaping of different ways of thinking, different work styles and different ways of life in the different classes, in their political parties and for each individual.

The particular world outlook naturally decides the type of work style that will prevail in a party. Because the world outlook of the bourgeois political parties is based on idealism and metaphysics, with extreme individualism and egotism as its core, it created their reactionary and decadent style of putting profitmaking before everything else, of fraud and deception, of trimming one's sails to the wind, of cheating and trying to outwit one's fellowmen and of deceiving and oppressing the masses. On the other hand, the CPC, the vanguard of the Chinese working class, bases its world outlook on dialectical materialism and historical materialism, has as its aim wholehearted service to the people and has as its ultimate goal the establishment of the communist system of society. It has, therefore, brought forth the fine style of seeking

truth from facts, of integrating theory with practice, of close ties with the masses, of criticism and self-criticism, of modesty and prudence and of arduous work and hard struggle.

Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the foundations of the communist world outlook. The material determines consciousness and practice as the source of theory; these are fundamental tenets of dialectical materialism. They also determine how our party and each party member approach and deal with all problems. It is definitely not permissible to use subjective assumptions and a do-as-you-please idealistic attitude, but one must rather adhere to the materialist principles of seeking truth from facts, of proceeding in all affairs from the realities, of integrating theory with practice and of making concrete analyses of concrete conditions. The excellent work style of our party in always seeking truth from facts is precisely the concrete embodiment and combination of the three factors: Marxist materialism, dialectics and epistemology. Historical materialism affirms the fact that the masses are the creators of history, that the practice of the masses is the source for our understanding of the objective world and the only criterion to test the correctness of our understanding. In order to be able to seek truth from facts, it is necessary to go deep into the realities of life, immerse oneself among the masses, understand the vital interests of the masses and their needs, conscientiously adhere to the political line of the masses, forever keep close to the masses, protect the democratic rights of the people and adopt a work method of "from the masses to the masses." The mass line in the work style of our party is precisely the concrete application and reflection of historical materialism. This shows that the excellent work style of the party with its seeking truth from facts, its integration of theory with reality and its close links with the masses, is completely built up on the foundation of the Marxist philosophy and that it is the expression in essence of the communist world outlook as far as work style is concerned.

Serving the people wholeheartedly is the core of the communist world outlook, and this then also determines the work style of the Chinese Communist Party and of each of its members, requiring selfless work for the public interest, seeking no personal profit and the courageous launching of criticism and self-criticism. The new party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress stipulates clearly and definitely that the Chinese Communist Party "is the faithful representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities in China," demands that "a member of the CPC must serve the people wholeheartedly and must be ready to make any personal sacrifice," and that "all party members must not seek personal gain or privileges, although they are allowed personal benefits and the powers of their jobs or offices to the extent that such are provided for by regulations and policies," and furthermore emphasizes the need to "uphold truth and correct errors." It is for this reason that our party and all party members are imbued with a high degree of morality and a style of working selflessly for the public interest, not seeking personal profits, of courageously practicing criticism and self-criticism and in the interest of the people of emphasizing truth without concern for face-saving.

Waging hard struggle to realize the ultimate goal of establishing a communist social system is the essence and the special trait of the communist world outlook. This determines the excellence of character and work style necessarily demanded of the CPC and of each of its members, that is, to fear neither hardship nor death and in critical times to be brave to the degree of making any personal sacrifice, even of one's life. From the day it was born, our party has always had as its ultimate goal the establishment of a communist social system, a goal that was also written into its constitution as the sacred duty of every party member and as the core of the nurturing of his party spirit. In the past 60-odd years, innumerable staunch communists acquired the revolutionary world outlook, kept the great goal of communism firmly in their minds, worked hard to put their pledge of fighting for communism into practice and thereby fully reflected the firm communist conviction and scientific world outlook of communists.

To sum up, the total manifestations of fine work style by the communist party are closely interrelated with the communist world outlook. The fine work style of the party expresses concretely the communist world outlook in ideology and action. The problem of the party work style is in essence a problem of world outlook.

The history of our party verifies the fact that all aspects of our party's fine work style have gradually come about under the guidance of the communist world outlook and through extended revolutionary practice. It was always in times when communist education within the party was conducted most vigorously and the reform of the world outlook pursued most effectively that the party displayed the most excellent work style. In 1942, the party carried out the Yenan rectification of incorrect styles of work, an action of far-reaching historical significance. It was the best example of how an effective reform of the world outlook promoted the excellent work style of the party to glorious radiance. In the rectification of that time, Marxist education was carried out as a universal movement throughout the party, as well as a struggle of the proletarian ideology against nonproletarian ideologies. "Fight subjectivism in order to rectify the style of study, fight sectarianism in order to rectify the style of party work and fight party stereotypes in order to rectify the style of writing." In the rectifications of those days, Left-deviationist and Right-deviationist mistakes were liquidated, and many of our party members and cadres gained a good command of the orientation which integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practices of the Chinese revolution. As a result, the work style of the party improved to an unprecedented degree, and the ideological foundation was provided for the victory in the democratic revolution. In the early days of total liberation, our party, in view of the new situation of finding itself in the position of ruling party, strengthened the ideological education of party members and cadres and launched a series of movements, such as the "Three Anti" and the party rectification movements, which raised the power of resistance among many of our party members against bourgeois ideologies and against the corrosion of all kinds of nonproletarian ideologies. As a result, the excellent work style of the party was well preserved and further developed under the new conditions, which ensured the successful recovery of the national economy and the successful completion of the three socialist transformations.

However, the facts also tell us that whenever our party relaxes education in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and relents in the reform of world outlook, or whenever such activities are sabotaged, the work style of the party becomes problematic, especially in times when the party is in the position of ruling party. During the "Cultural Revolution" the two counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, in their counterrevolutionary plots to usurp the party and state power, took advantage of the mood of conceit and complacency in the party, of its dogmatism, personality cult and other such mistaken mentalities and, harboring ulterior motives, distorted Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, sabotaged the reform of the people's world outlook and allowed various kinds of nonproletarian ideologies to infiltrate through various weak points. The communist world outlook suffered terrible devastation, and this resulted in equally serious damage to the party's work style. After the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, especially after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the restoration of order out of chaos, and through various measures of thorough-going reforms, the original aspects of Mao Zedong Thought were restored. As Mao Zedong Thought was upheld and further developed under the new historical conditions, the communist world outlook which had been trampled underfoot, reappeared in its full radiance, and a marked change took place in the unhealthy trends within the party as the excellent work style of the party was gradually restored and further developed.

The historical experiences tell us undeniable that the party's work style is truly inseparably linked with the world outlook. Engels said: "Our party has the great advantage that its theoretical base is a new, scientific world outlook." All members of the communist party must arm themselves with Marxism and the communist world outlook, because this is the only way that they will be able to muster a strong will and display an excellent style of work such as can hardly be found in other, ordinary people. The communist world outlook is the soul of the communist party member. Once they possess this soul, they will display excellent work style in every field.

The correct understanding of the relationship between the party's work style and the communist world outlook is of greatest significance for an effective education in the communist world outlook within the party and for our efforts at a radical improvement in our party's work style.

First, the clear understanding of the relationship between the party's work style and communist world outlook enables us to consciously realize that the process of adjusting the party's work style is a process of carrying out education in the communist world outlook among the broad masses of our party members. The education in the communist world outlook will spur on a radical turn for the better in the party's work style. Today the party is in a new historical period, facing the complex and arduous task of the socialist modernizations. At the same time, "because the pernicious influences of the 10 years of turmoil have to this day not yet been completely eliminated, also because under the new conditions there has been an increase in the ideological and corrosive influences from the exploiting classes, our party indeed faces the problems of impure ideology, impure work style and impure organization, and no radical improvement could as yet be effected in the party's work style," and the party's work style cannot yet meet the demands

of the present historical development. The question of the party's work style is a matter of life or death for a party in power. Thus, to promote a radical improvement in the party's work style, it is necessary to carry out a consolidation of the party, and the central point in this work must be a one-time ideological education on a broad scale and in depth throughout the entire party. The whole party must engage in education in the fundamental theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, in education in communist ideals, etc., to raise the ideological consciousness of the party members and cadres, to effectively eliminate all nonproletarian ideologies and work styles, to resist the intrusion and corrosion of bourgeois ideologies and to overcome the unhealthy trends in the party. If we are able to recognize the problem of party work style as a problem of world outlook, we shall certainly be able to conscientiously set about the task of reforming the world outlook together with the task of rectifying the party's work style, to effectively combat corrosion in the ideological field and to expedite the radical turn for the better in our party's work style.

Next, the clear understanding of the relationship between the party's work style and the communist world outlook will enable us to earnestly test the degree to which we have acquired a communist world outlook. The party's work style is the outer manifestation of its world outlook. A good party work style reveals to us the extent of "elements" of communist world outlook in the party member's mind; certain unhealthy trends reveal to us the extent of "poisonous elements" of a nonproletarian world outlook in the party member's mind. In this way, it will be possible to "suit the medicine to the illness" in the course of education in the communist world outlook, and to achieve the effect of one supplementing the other as regards changing the party's work style and reforming the world outlook.

Third, the clear understanding of the relationship between the party's work style and communist world outlook enables us to earnestly combine all our measures adopted to promote the improvement of the party's work style with the transformation of the world outlook, and thus to promote more effectively the radical improvement in the party's work style. Our party has adopted many measures to correct unhealthy trends, such as organizing the study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought among our party members, especially for an earnest study of the "Guidelines" and the new party constitution, propagating typical positive examples, disciplinary action against particular party members who violated party discipline, etc. To be effective in transforming the party's work style, all these measures must be closely linked with a reform of the world outlook and with the establishment of a communist world outlook. Under no circumstances must study be undertaken for study's sake, or problems be discussed just by themselves. Only through the world outlook, this "main switch," and only by engaging this "main switch," can a radical transformation be achieved in the party's work style.

In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The key to continued success in our undertakings lies in the confidence in our party and the support for our party by the people." We believe that after the establishment of a genuine communist world outlook in the overwhelming majority of our party members and after a radical turn for

the better in our party's work style, it will certainly be possible for our party to find greater confidence and more support from the people, and that our party will certainly be able to lead the people of the whole nation with a hundred times reinforced confidence to initiate the all-round new phase in our socialist modernization drive.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### NIE RONGZHEN RECOLLECTS NANCHANG UPRISING

HK021035 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 83 p 5

[Article by Nie Rongzhen [5119 2837 5271]: "The Nanchang Uprising"--abridged from a chapter of "Nie Rongzhen's Memoirs" originally carried in the first issue of ZHONGENG [CRISSCROSS]]

[Text] From Wuhan to Jiujiang

After the Fifth CPC National Congress, the political situation in the country was more tense. For one thing, Feng Yuxiang transferred his allegiance by "presenting" our political workers as a gift [to the KMT]. It was at this moment that Liu Bojian and many other comrades left Feng Yuxiang's troops.

In the first 10 days of June, Wang Jingwei, Tang Shengzhi, Feng Yuxiang and other so-called "Leftist" held a meeting in Zhengzhou to divide the spoils. They formulated the Zhengzhou Agreement, by which Feng Yuxiang occupied Henan and Tang Shengzhi withdrew his troops to Wuhan. Thus, Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Jingwei, Feng Yuxiang, and Tang Shengzhi came together and unanimously directed the spearhead against the CPC. Our original plan was to rely on Wang Jingwei to beat back Chiang Kai-shek's anticommunist coup but this idea fell through. A split between the KMT and the CPC became a foregone conclusion. What was to be done? There was only one way out, that is, to stage an armed uprising to oppose the KMT's policy of massacre. However, there was a very heated debate within the party on whether or not we should wage armed resistance or make a compromise and give in. Chen Duxiu resolutely opposed armed resistance against the enemy. Just then, the CPC Central Committee relayed to us an instruction from the Communist International, setting forth a noncapitalist future for the Chinese revolution and demanding that we take up arms and organize a contingent of 50,000. This played a vigorous role in urging us to make up our minds to stage the Nanchang uprising. Unexpectedly, Luo Yi [5012 2496], a representative from the Communist International, showed this instruction from the Communist International to Wang Jingwei, who, as a result Wang Jingwei brought forward his plot to suppress the CPC. This also led us to stage the Nanchang uprising as soon as possible.

In mid-July, the CPC Central Committee formed a five-man provisional political bureau, rejected Chen Duxiu's erroneous leadership, issued the 13 July declaration, and determined a general principle for armed struggle.

The decision to stage the Nanchang uprising was taken by the CPC Central Committee at a meeting in Wuhan in mid-July. I did not attend the meeting. That evening, after the meeting, Comrade Zhou Enlai went to the military commission to relay the decision to the comrades working there. The main points of his communication were that the KMT and the CPC had split, that we had no other choice but to stage an uprising, and that the CPC Central Committee meeting had decided on that day to stage an uprising in Nanchang. Comrade Zhou Enlai also said that the meeting had decided to set up a front committee and appointed him secretary. After he finished relaying the decision of the Central Committee meeting, he assigned He Chang, Yan Changyi and me to form a front military committee with me as secretary. Our task was to go first to Jiujiang to notify the comrades there, to make sure they understood the intentions of the CPC Central Committee, and to make preparations for the uprising. However, the time for the uprising would be decided by the CPC Central Committee.

At that time, our troops in Jiujiang were composed of Ye Ting's 24th Division and He Long's 20th Army. Other units of Zhang Fakui's Second Front Army were also in Jiujiang. There were quite a few CPC members in these units.

We left a week or so earlier than Comrade Zhou Enlai. In a report which Ye Ting wrote after the Nanchang uprising, he mentioned a discussion meeting held in Jiujiang on 20 July, which I attended.

Due to the tense situation in Wuhan before and after Wang Jingwei's public betrayal of the revolution, many responsible comrades of our party arrived in Jiujiang one after another. The meeting of 20 July which Ye Ting referred to was in fact a briefing meeting attended by some responsible members of the CPC Central Committee.

The 20 July meeting was attended by Comrade Tan Pingshan, Li Lisan, Yun Daiying, Deng Zhongxia, and some members of the Central Committee, as well as Comrade Ye Ting. At that meeting, Comrade Li Lisan and others were very impatient, advocating immediate action. I said it would not do for we had to await orders from the CPC Central Committee. He said that since the decision had been relayed to the troops and the work for the uprising had been organized, it was necessary for us to issue an order. I said that the matter was not so simple and since our task in going there was to organize preparations for an uprising, the preparatory work was also very important. However, some members of the CPC Central Committee stood for immediate action without waiting for order from the Central Committee. Li Lisan, in particular, said that I had a slavish mentality, was chicken-hearted, and so on. After a heated debate, the meeting finally decided to wait for orders from the Central Committee.

After arriving in Jiujiang, we relayed the decision of the Central Committee to one army unit after another. Because the plan for an uprising was a very secret one, we relayed it primarily to the responsible comrades of various army units. In some units, we relayed it on a broader scope.

During this period, I also went to Lushan on one occasion. At that time, Bao Luoting [7637 5012 1694] was in Lushan. He asked me to go there and brief him on the plan for the Nanchang uprising and the progress of preparations. I



immediately went to the mountain and briefed him on the decision of the CPC Central Committee and on the preparations of the troops. At that time, Comrade Zhang Tailei acted as an interpreter. He wanted to get information on the situation from me because he would soon return to his country, and by understanding what our party would do next he would be able to justify himself after his return. Therefore, after listening to my briefing, he did not express any opinion. Not long afterwards, he returned to his country on transfer.

In line with the task entrusted to me by Comrade Zhou Enlai, I also made a special trip to notify Comrade Liu Shaoqi. I told him that the Central Committee had decided to stage an uprising in Nanchang. I asked him to be prepared and to pay attention to his own safety.

I returned to Jiujiang from Lushan and continued to relay the decision of the Central Committee to various army units according to the original plan.

After receiving our notice, some troops converged on Nanchang. Ye Ting's 24th Division, He Long's 20th Army, and Cai Tingkai's 10th Division entered Nanchang from different directions. The 12th and 25th Divisions remained in Jiujiang, and the latter was scheduled to be one of our main forces taking part in the uprising. The overall preparations went on quite meticulously.

#### At Mahuiling

When we had almost finished notifying various units, Comrade Zhou Enlai arrived in Jiujiang. At that time, the date for the uprising had not been fixed. Before leaving for Nanchang, Zhou Enlai entrusted us with the task of trying to move the 20th Division to Nanchang to join in the uprising, and of coordinating with the troops and small groups arriving in Jiujiang at a later time so that they would arrive in Nanchang in good time. How should we keep in touch with one another after the Nanchang uprising started? We did not have any transceivers at that time and we were afraid that civilian cables would not be reliable. To solve the problem of liaison, Zhou Enlai and I agreed on sending a train to Mahuiling as soon as the uprising started in Nanchang and, as soon as the train arrived, transporting army supplies and gear to Nanchang. The troops would then leave for Nanchang.

After Zhou Enlai left, we made a decision. I was to go to Mahuiling to fetch the 20th Division and Comrade Yan Changyi was to stay in Jiujiang to coordinate the work. It was also due to this arrangement that Yan Changyi did not go to Nanchang later but went directly to Shanghai.

The work was intense during the 2 or 3 days I was in Mahuiling. I relayed the decision of the Central Committee on staging an uprising on a broader scope, had talks with people individually or collectively on many occasions, urged them to make good preparations for the uprising, and drew up various specific plans for it.

On the afternoon of 1 August, a train arrived from Nanchang. We were very pleased to know that Nanchang had gone into action. Fortunately, we had notified our comrades in advance and made preparations. Therefore, when we

went into action, we were in a rush but not in a muddle. After consulting with Comrade Zhou Shidi (he was then commander of the 73d regiment of the 25th Division), I decided to transport army supplies and gear by train and then directed the troops in the direction of Deng. Li Hanhun, commander of the 25th Division, was a trusted follower of Zhang Fakui. The division was composed of three regiments, the 73d, 74th and 75th. The 73d regiment grew out of Ye Ting's Independent Regiment and the 75th regiment was newly formed. The commander of the 74th regiment was not our man. We had a poor basis in this regiment and were not sure whether we could prevail upon them to join in the uprising.

We first moved the 73d regiment out of Mahuiling and then ordered the 75th regiment to follow suit. Sun Yizhong commander of the 75th regiment, was a cadet of the first class of the Huangpu Military Academy. A native of Anhui, he was quite a remarkable comrade. However, as this unit stayed with the divisional headquarters, it was inconvenient for them to move about. Therefore, it was then decided that they would not take away any knapsacks, luggage, and mess poles but only arms and ammunition and would move the troop out under the pretence of doing field training. We were able to move out only a reconnaissance company from the 74th regiment. The commander of the reconnaissance company was a CPC member. He was a native of Qiongya but I forget his name. He led the reconnaissance company in joining the uprising.

When about half of the 75th regiment had left, Zhang Fakui arrived by train. He knew that the 73d regiment were our troops but he was nervous when he learned that the 75th regiment had also gone into action. Standing at the door of the train, he shouted: "What are you doing? You should cease all actions!" Standing on one side of a railway bridge, I could clearly see Zhang Fakui, whose train stopped on the other side of the bridge. According to my analysis, beside attempting to put a stop to the move of the 75th regiment, Zhang Fakui might possibly bring out the 74th regiment to oppose us. But I thought he would not dare to do so. With the 10th and 24th divisions already gone, he only had the 12th and 25th Divisions. What could he do when we had moved out two regiments of his 25th Division? However, since we had gone into action in Nanchang, we should not let him pass. Therefore, I immediately said to platoon leader Li: "Ask them to move the train at once. If they do not, fire into the air." Platoon leader Li immediately shouted, ordering them to start the train but they remained where they were. I said: "Fire!" Thereupon, a barrage of fire was opened. Zhang Fakui got down from the train hurriedly and left. Li Hanhun and a few others also jumped off the train with him. Comrade Ye Jiangting told me later that when Zhang Fakui jumped off the train, he was also there. But Zhang Fakui ran away in such a hurry that he left his bodyguards and some of his things on the train. We held all of them prisoner and Comrade He Chang was also at the train. After the train arrived in Dean, Zhang Fakui sent a staff officer with his letter, demanding that his binoculars be returned to him. I agreed, I even set free his bodyguards because we had not completely broken with Zhang Fakui at that time.

The whole operation was successful. Almost all troops in which we had organizations were pulled out. We almost controlled the basic force of the 25th Division. With some replenishment, it was reorganized into a division with a complete organizational system and was under the 11th Army. In our march to the south, it was one of the main forces of the insurrectionary army.

Later, I divided up the work with Zhou Sidi, he leading the 73d regiment and I was the 75th regiment. We rushed to Nanchang. When we arrived in Dean, the train service was blocked. We rushed to Nanchang on foot that very night. It was before dawn the next day when we arrived at the city of Nanchang.

#### In Nanchang

When in Nanchang, I went to the living quarters of Zhou Enlai. I remember it was at a school. I briefed him on the situation and he said: "The operation is very successful! I did not expect it to be such plain sailing in moving out most of the 25th Division." Then he told me of the victories that had been won in the Nanchang uprising. Our army annihilated 4,000-5,000 enemy, seized more than 5,000 rifles, more than 700,000 cartridges, and some other arms, equipment, and materials.

The Nanchang uprising was successful but what should we do following the victory? According to the predetermined plan of the CPC Central Committee, our troops should have immediately gone to the south and occupied Guangdong as well as some sea ports in order to obtain international aid and carry out the second Northern Expedition. Under the guidance of the strategic principle of the Central Committee, we were set on going to the south and on arriving in Guangdong early without taking other matter into consideration. In this way, the insurrectionary army left Nanchang in a hurry.

On the second day after my arrival in Nanchang, that was, on 3 August, some troops began to leave. The troops taking part in the uprising had not had a rest. What was more important was that we did not reorganize the troops. Take the 10th Division for example. This troop was originally under the command of Chen Mingshu and was later under the command of Zhang Fakui. Divisional Commander Cai Tingkai was a trusted follower of Chen Mingshu. At that time, he did not support our party wholeheartedly. And his troops rushed to Nanchang 1 or 2 days before the Nanchang uprising. However, after the victory of the uprising, we did not reorganize his troops in good time. Nor did we transfer the cadres, although some people had suggested this. Ye Ting held, however, that there was nothing wrong with Cai Tingkai. He blindly trusted Cai Tingkai. He held that Cai Tingkai assumed an enthusiastic attitude toward fighting back to Guangdong and so failed to take any measures about this. When we left Nanchang, he even let Cai Tingkai lead the 10th Division as a vanguard, with the result that we were taken in. The division left on 3 August and he defected to his old superior Chen Mingshu the next day after arriving in Jinxian. In this way, we lost a division at one go.

Because we did not stay on in Nanchang, some other troops rushing to Nanchang to take part in the uprising did not manage to catch up with us. For example, the Wuhan branch (including a contingent of female students) of the Central Military and Political School was under our control. There were many CPC members in it who originally decided to take part in the uprising. After setting out from Wuhan, they first arrived in Jiujiang, where they were disarmed by Zhang Fakui. At the proposal of Comrade Ye Jianying, Zhang Fakui reorganized that school into a training regiment of the Second Front Army with Comrade Ye Jianying as its regimental commander. With the approval of Zhang Fakui, this

army unit was preserved. Later, this regiment arrived in Guangzhou and took part in the Guangzhou uprising. Comrade Chen Yi, who was then the secretary of the Wuhan branch school CPC committee, also came in great haste to join in the Nanchang uprising. When he arrived in the vicinity of Jiujiang, the situation had changed. Therefore, he tried to shake off the enemy and, with a few other comrades, directly came to Nanchang to look for us. As he had left at an early time, he did not catch up with us in Nanchang. It was not until we marched to the south that he managed to catch up with the troops.

Moreover, while we were in Wuhan, we organized and established a guards regiment of the Second Front Army to be responsible for the security of the national government. This regiment was composed of some companies transferred from Ye Ting's independent regiment. The regimental commander was Comrade Lu Deming, who was a cadet of the second class of the Huangpu Military Academy and had served as a company and then a battalion commander at Ye Ting's Independent Regiment. This troop had also decided to take part in the Nanchang uprising. However, when they arrived at Huangshi from Wuhan, they learned that we had left Nanchang. As Jiujiang was under the control of Zhang Fakui, they went in the direction of Nanchang by way of Xiushui. They failed to catch up with us and had to stay at Xiushui. Later, they joined in the autumn uprising led by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Following the success of the Nanchang uprising, we organized our troops into the 9th, 11th, and 20th Armies, and we continued to use the old designation by calling them the Second Front Army. Comrade Zhu De was appointed deputy army commander of the 9th Army; Comrade He Long was appointed commander of the 20th Army and concurrently acting commander in chief of the Second Front Army; Comrade Ye Ting was appointed commander of the 11th Army, frontline commander in chief, and concurrently commander of the 24th Division; and I was appointed party representative of the 11th Army. Our insurrectionary army comprised 15 regiments.

#### Marching to the South

Our army began marching to the south on 3 August.

On our way to the south, we passed through Lingchuan, Yihuang, and Guangchang. On the way to Fuijin, we had a battle at Rentian. This was our first encounter since we marched south. The advanced detachments were the 20th Army led by Comrade He Long. They had a fierce battle with the two regiments under Qian Dajun's command. Although they succeeded in routing the enemy, they themselves suffered heavy losses.

After the battle of Rentian, our army occupied Ruijin. It was said that there was a division under Qian Dajun's command in Huichang and that the enemy in Rentian had also retreated to Huichang, and so we again concentrated our forces to attack Huichang. The battle of Huichang started on 30 August. The 24th and 25th Divisions as well as the 20th Army took part in the fierce battle. Zhou Enlai, Ye Ting, Liu Pocheng and I directed the battle from a hilltop. After fierce fighting we succeeded in routing the main force of Qian Dajun. However, we also had more than 1,000 casualties. Our casualties of cadres were also heavy. Comrade Chen Geng was seriously wounded in that battle.

After putting the main force of Qian Dajun to flight, we occupied Huichang. I was taking an afternoon nap the following day when I heard fighting again raging outside. I learned later that a troop under the command of Huang Shaohong had arrived from Luokou and ran into our troops. As soon as we discovered the enemy, we organized a counterattack and, by evening, succeeded in repulsing the enemy.

After fighting a fierce battle in Huichang, our troops massed in Ruijin again. There were two ways open to us then. One route was that our troops would advance from Huichang, passing through Xunwu in south Jiangxi, first to Hailufeng and then to Guangzhou. This was the shortest way. However, we did not take this shortcut mainly because it was extremely difficult for us to transport thousands of wounded soldiers and heavy impediments, so we had to turn back to Ruijin. We decided to change our route and go to Fujian. We embarked all wounded soldiers, and supplies and gear for our troops, and sailed along the Tingjiang River and the Hanjiang River toward Tingzhou and Shanghang. On the way, we did not come across any enemy.

On 24 September, our troops captured Chaoshan. However, before advancing on Chaoshan, we made a decision to divide forces. It was decided that Comrade Zhu De would command the 25th Division of Zhou Shidi to defend Sanheba and to pin down the enemy. But from the point of view of today, it was in fact, absolutely unnecessary to keep our strongest crack troops to defend Sanheba. In Chaoshan, we made another decision to further divide forces. We decided that the Third Division of the 20th Army (Comrade Zhou Yiqun was division commander) would defend Chaoshan. According to this decision, we had only the 24th Division of the 11th Army and the first and second divisions of the 20th Army (these two divisions were not at full strength) as our main force to forge ahead to Jieyang; they totaled less than 6,000. When our troops engaged the enemy troops who were subordinate to Xue Yue's army in Tangkeng, it was a fierce battle. Neither side was ready to yield. At the time when the hottest fighting was going on in Xue Yue, Huang Shaohong led his two divisions, together with the surviving forces of Qian Dajun's army, to launch an attack on Chaozhou and Sanheba. The enemy was intent on tying down our troops and preventing them from advancing south. If the enemy seized Chaozhou, then they would pose a menace to Shantou and cut the link between different units of our troops so that they would be able to smash our units one by one. Our Third Division which was assigned to the task of guarding Chaozhou, was a newly-formed unit and had low combat effectiveness, so the city quickly fell into the hands of Huang Shaohong. Meanwhile, our troops guarding Sanheba were also isolated. When Tangkeng was in an unfavorable position, hot fighting occurred in Sanheba. Comrade Zhu De led the 25th Division to withdraw from the south in an attempt to draw close to the main force. But they heard on the way that the main force was embattled, so, before reaching Shantou, they immediately retreated by way of Raoping to the Wuping area in Fujian Province.

The battle in Tangkeng was a seesaw battle between who sides on a small hill-top. Our troops were heroically brave in the battle. I still remember the bravery of a battalion commander of the 24th Division. He was called Liao Kuaihu, a real hero. When he bravely led his men to contend for possession of a defended position again and again, he was always in the van of the fighting.

When the enemy had shattered our troops' lines, and most of our men had died in glory, he still stood firm, prepared to die rather than retreat. At last, he perished, together with our position. After this bitter fighting, both sides suffered heavy casualties. Our men were too exhausted, so we had to abandon our position.

Where should we go after withdrawing from Tangkeng, since we were not ordered to pull out or to go somewhere else by the revolutionary committee and the general staff? According to our original plan, we were to seize Tangkeng and Fengshun. Now, since we had failed to capture Tangkeng, we had to change our minds and we decided to retreat to Chaozhou. However, on the way, we ran into an adjutant of Comrade He Long. He said that Chaozhou had fallen and Shantou was also in danger; the revolutionary committee was being shifted toward Hailufeng. I consulted with Ye Ting as to where we should go. Ye Ting said that it was not wise to go to Hailufeng because the 24th Division had suffered heavy casualties and we had lost contact with the 25th Division after it was besieged in Sanheba. If we moved toward Hailufeng, we would be kept further from the 25th Division. This was not the way we should choose. He suggested that we go to Fujian where the enemy force was weaker--there was only one division of Zhang Zhen's there. Meanwhile, we might come across the 25th Division on the way. I thought that Ye Ting's suggestion was sound. He had spent a period of time in Fujian and knew the place well when he followed Dr Sun Yat-sen. However, I, as a party representative, should take the issue into further consideration. After having considered over and over again, I decided that this just would not work since we had no orders to do it. We should not act presumptuously. We should first locate the front committee.

So we turned round and moved westward; we reached Liusha by way of Jieyang where we discovered the revolutionary committee and Comrade Enlai. He was in a coma then because of a high fever. A number of leading comrades were there too. When we reached them, they were just holding a meeting and we were asked to take part in it. At the meeting, Comrade Ye Ting was not in favor of the proposal of going to Hailufeng. He explained that there was already a certain number of the enemy in Hailufeng, and we would probably be under a pincer attack from the enemy in Guangzhou and Tangkeng. In addition, the topography of the place was not advantageous to us, we had to "fight with our back to the wall." I consented to his explanation because he seemed to realize that it was difficult for us to keep on fighting due to the besiegement of the 25th Division, the heavy casualties of the 24th Division, and our failure in the battle in Tangkeng. Nevertheless, it was learned that the 20th Army under command of Comrade He Long was just marching to Hailufeng. At the moment, people started making a babble of comments.

At the time when discussions were very lively, we confirmed a report that two divisions of the 20th Army had surrendered.

This incident deepened our understanding: Troops who had defected from the enemy must be thoroughly reformed before they were formed into columns of the new revolutionary army.

Having learned of this situation, everyone gave his own opinion and there were hardly any identical views. Just at this juncture, fighting broke out again outside the town.

## After Suffering Setbacks

When the enemy launched an offensive near Liusha, our troops were in disorder. Under such circumstances, Ye Ting and I had all along followed Comrade Enlai. At last, only a few of us were left. We were unfamiliar with both the location and the local dialect. We had no capacity to defend ourselves as we had nothing but a pistol. Thanks to the efforts of Comrade Peng Pai, who had worked there for a long time, and to the friendly help rendered to us by the local peasants, fortunately, nothing happened to us.

After repeated efforts, we finally found Comrade Yang Shihun. He was one of the responsible persons of the local party organization. We had known each other long ago. I said to him: "You are familiar with the local conditions. Mind you do not leave us. None of us know the local dialect so you must escort us to Hong Kong as you have good connections in many places." Comrade Yang Shihun was very kind to us; he readily agreed, and soon took action.

We first shifted to a small village near Liusha. That evening, Comrade Yang Shihun had some people send a stretcher to carry Comrade Enlai, and escorted us to the Jiazi Harbor in Hailufeng. Then, he also managed to get a small boat, and we went on board.

After arriving in Hong Kong, Comrade Yang Shihun first made contact with the provincial CPC committee to help settle Comrade Enlai down, and then he himself went off.

Before he went, we forgot to ask him the cipher to contact the provincial CPC committee. So, Ye Ting and I had to manage to get in touch with the organ of the provincial CPC committee. Due to the lack of code word and our poor appearance, comrades of the organ did not know who we were and refused to contact us. This caused us a good deal of bother, but we finally got in contact with the party organization.

Ye Ting intended to arrange for his family to come to Hong Kong from Shanghai, and to settle down there. I was a single man, so I had nothing to worry about. Later on, I was transferred to work at the Guangdong provincial military committee soon after getting in touch with the provincial CPC committee.

The main force of the Nanchang uprising suffered military reverses in Tangkeng and Liusha, but two divisions of the 11th Army were not defeated and dispersed, owing to the solid foundation of party work. Under the command of Comrade Dong Lang, the surviving forces of the 24th Division reached Haifeng to integrate with the local peasant movement, and to establish a base in Hailufeng. As for the conditions of the 25th Division, I met Yang Xinyu of the division soon after my arrival in Hong Kong. He reported to me on the failure of the uprising launched by the division. He said: "When the division retreated to Wuping, the enemy troops of the 18th Division of Qian Dajun came in pursuit. At first, our troops were in an advantageous position, but the division commander ordered them to withdraw. In the absence of a well-planned withdrawal, heavy losses were suffered on our side. Finally, our troops had only some 1,500 men who each had a gun. When reaching Xinfeng, our troops were extremely exhausted." Apart from this, Comrade Zhao Zixuan, whom we had dispatched to catch the



division, failed to accomplish the task. Meanwhile, some cadres, junior officers, and soldiers defected from regiments of the division under the command of Zhou Shidi. (Comrade Zhou Shidi also came to Hong Kong later.) In the face of such difficulties and chaos, Comrade Zhu De was very firm. He reorganized the surviving troops into four detachments. He also said to all: "If anyone of you is unwilling to continue to strive for the struggle, you may go. I myself will persist in the revolution even with only a few guns left." I was deeply moved by his remarks and admired him very much. At the same time, I worried that he would lose control over the troops and the whole unit would disperse. I immediately reported this situation to the Central Military Commission and suggested that the 25th Division be transferred to Hunan to integrate with the local peasant movement in order to reinforce themselves. Later, the unit under the command of Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi fought hard successively in different places and finally reached South Hunan by way of South Jiangxi. They launched the South Hunan uprising, and then went up to the Jinggang Mountain to join with the unit of the Autumn Harvest uprising led by Comrade Mao Zedong. Subsequently, they became one of the main forces in the Jinggang Mountain.

Generally speaking, the Nanchang uprising was of great historical significance. It fired the first shot against the KMT reactionaries, marked the beginning of the second revolutionary civil war--a new stage of the Chinese Revolution led by the CPC--and led to the birth of the army of the Chinese people. Meanwhile, a great number of our cadres gained experiences from the Nanchang uprising today, we find there is a very painful lesson.

First, the strategic guideline of advancing south to Guangdong was wrong. Were there any particularly favorable conditions for us in Guangdong at that time? No, there were not. The people of Guangdong did play a great role in the struggles against imperialism and warlords. Nevertheless, the masses of workers and peasants in Guangdong, particularly the worker organizations which had staged the Guangdong-Hong Kong strike, were ruthlessly suppressed after "15 April." [Referring to the KMT massacre in Guangzhou in 1927] Since the revolutionary forces had been wantonly destroyed, the character of the political power of Guangdong--the base of the Northern Expedition--also changed. We always planned to rally our forces to stage another northern expedition. The plan was in fact not feasible because the relation of forces between the enemy and ourselves was unfavorable to us. When we say that for a military commander, winning or losing is a common occurrence, we refer to strategy. But if we commit mistakes in tactics, we will cause heavy losses. The failure to advance south in the Nanchang uprising is a good proven example.

After launching the uprising successfully, if we had not shifted in a hurry, would we have really been in danger of being surrounded or annihilated? I do not think so. As a matter of fact, the then situation was not as serious as we thought, and the enemy was not as strong as we estimated. The enemy's side included only the 3d Army of Zhu Peide, the 6th Army of Cheng Qian, and the remnants of Zhang Fakui's force. The main force of Cheng Qian's 6th Army was not in Nanchang; Cheng gathered only a regiment of his troops there. Part of Zhu Peide's 6th Army had already been wiped out by us; the remains were dispersed in many places. It would take time for them to reassemble. Even when they had



regrouped, this was not a strong unit. It was easy to cope with. As for the unit of Zhang Fakui, our party strength was strong in it. There were some party members and members of peasants associations in each regiment. Only a small number of his men were left after many soldiers had revolted and crossed over in the uprising, they were the 12th Division and the 74th regiment of the 25th Division. But there were many of our comrades in both of these divisions. Therefore, it was not too difficult to deal with Zhang Fakui.

Then, why did we insist on advancing south? Because we stressed then occupying sea ports with a view to obtaining foreign aid. From the viewpoint of today, such an idea lacks the spirit of self-reliance, it is also wrong.

In fact, we need not have advanced south. If we had further developed our strength somewhere near Nanchang, or in the rural areas of Hunan, Hubei and Jiangxi, and integrated ourselves with local peasant movements to organize the masses and arm them, then we would have been able to foment the agrarian revolution, to develop guerrilla war, and to establish revolutionary bases. At that time, there was disunion and numerous contradictions within the KMT because the rising warlords were scrambling for supremacy. If we had known how to make use of these contradictions, we would have been able to wipe out the enemy one by one. Of course, this is what we imagine today. As a matter of fact, we lacked then the idea of launching the agrarian revolution and failed to understand the path of encircling the cities from the rural areas and the importance of setting up revolutionary bases in the countryside. In addition, the background of soldiers who defected was very complicated. It was impossible to integrate them with the peasant movements before they were ideologically reformed.

In spite of this, the main orientation of the Nanchang uprising--opposing the massacre policy of the KMT reactionaries by armed struggle--was absolutely right. We inevitably suffered setbacks and losses mainly because our party was not long established, and we were youthful and lacked experience in struggle, especially armed struggle.

CSO: 4005/1059

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

MEETING OF PARTY SCHOOLS--Guiyang, 26 Jul (XINHUA)--Wang Zhen, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and president of the central party school, sent a congratulatory letter to the fourth annual meeting of philosophical studies of China's party schools, which opened in Guiyang today. In the letter, he urged the meeting to use "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" as an ideological tool to raise the philosophical education of the party schools to a higher level and contribute to the cadres' training in various party schools. In his letter, Wang Zhen also called on the meeting to discuss "how to build socialism with Chinese characteristics?" as its theme, integrate theory with practice during the discussion and study such questions as how our party has adhered to and developed Mao Zedong Thought since the 3d Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee. More than 200 persons are attending the fourth annual meeting of philosophical studies of China's party schools. They include responsible persons of the central party school, various provincial, municipal, and autonomous regional party schools and the departments concerned, and experts, professors and theoretical workers. The meeting will last 16 days. [By reporter Zhang Chuangen] [Text] [OW280933 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1632 GMT 26 Jul 83]

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EAST REGION

CONTRADICTIONS AMONG PEOPLE REPORTED GROWING PROBLEM

Shanghai SHE HUI [SOCIOLOGY] in Chinese No 1, 20 Feb 83 pp 20-24

[Article by Yang Xinghua [2799 2502 5478], Fang Jiabao [2455 1367 1405] and Jin Lirong [6855 0448 2837]: "Strive to Prevent the Intensification of Contradictions Among the People"]

[Excerpts] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party and the government have been actively carrying out measures to effect an earnest rectification of the party's work style and the people's customs and practices, also toward improving public security and the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. In all these endeavors very great achievements have been made. However, due to the fact that up to this day the pernicious influences of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have not yet been eliminated and because of an intensification and changes in the contradictions among the people, cases of violent crimes are occurring constantly and are even on the increase in certain areas and units. This is a serious threat to public security and adversely affects our socialist modernization drive; it has, therefore, attracted the people's serious concern and attention. According to statistical data, cases of violence and murder originating from contradictions among the people account for 80 percent of all such cases. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "It is our intention not only to raise the spiritual state of each member of our society, but to build and develop throughout our whole society a new type of social relationship which will manifest the socialist spiritual civilization." This is the fundamental guiding ideology for the prevention of an intensification of contradictions among the people. The recent National Working Conference on Politics and Law also clearly and definitely pointed out that measures of strict precautions against an intensification and changes in contradictions among the people will be adopted. This is of extremely great significance for the present effective preservation of public security, for the consolidation of stability and unity and for the strengthening of our efforts to build up a socialist material and spiritual civilization.

## What Are the Areas in Which Contradictions Easily Lead to Excesses Occurring Among the People

In recent years the criminal cases of violence, beating, smashing, looting and murder originating from an intensification of contradictions among the people have become very prominent and seriously threaten the lives and property of the people. Main instances of such cases have occurred in the following areas:

1. Inability to deal appropriately with conflicts between members of a family, allowing such situations to aggravate and the strife to intensify, leading to blood relations harming each other and families going to ruin. Conflicts sometimes arise in a family for reasons of economics, living quarters, substituting for another person, supporting and caring for parents, sharing an inheritance or other trivial affairs of life that cause discord between parents and children, brothers and sisters, and in a short time may even turn close relatives into enemies quarrelling with each other, fighting with each other, even committing violence, inflicting injuries and ending in family tragedies.
2. Quarrels between lovers or married couples can lead to a breakup of the marriage or the love relationship, turn love into hate, turn close relations into enemies and lead to a sharpening of the conflict. Some young girls harbor bourgeois ideologies to a serious degree when considering marriage, in that they hanker after money and material possessions. Sometimes they even make it a condition of their love and marriage that their partners take them to Hong Kong, Macao or to a foreign country, and for this reason a breakup may occur, leading to an aggravation of the contradiction.
3. Neighbors fighting with each other over the communal parts of residences, over the building of houses or over the use of water and electricity, contending over every trifle and being concerned only for their own personal interests, wrangling without stopping and finally ending in a big fight.
4. Disregard for social morality, defying public order, behaving rudely and unreasonably, creating disturbances and engaging in evildoing and thus adversely affecting public order. Some people will start a quarrel, even get into a fight fight, over only a seat in a public place or over bumping into one another.

### Correct Certain Types of Erroneous Ideology

The fact that aggravation of conflicts among the people leads to criminal acts is a problem of public order that deserves our serious attention and for which we must conscientiously seek solutions. There are many factors responsible for this problem. There are the relics of pernicious influences originating from Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the evil growth of an individualist mentality, the lack of a proper concept of the legal system and lack of a sense of morality and the weakness of our work in the field of politics and ideology. However, what deserves our serious attention most is the erroneous ideology that is spreading among a certain sector of the

population, an ideology that has led to a sharpening of contradictions among the people with an evil effect much as "making a stormy sea stormier," an ideology that must be cleared up and rectified.

1. The mentality expressed in the saying: "Since the government does not settle matters, let us settle them ourselves," and "Since the law of the state has no remedy, let us settle things by traditional domestic disciplinary measures." This kind of mentality is in essence an anarchist ideology; it wants no government and no legal system. It is absolutely wrong. In the old society, the reactionary government protected the interests of the exploiting classes. It ruthlessly suppressed the working people, as truly described in the saying, "The yamen door may be wide open, but don't go in without money, even if you have all good grounds on your side." The common people, therefore, distrusted the government and for very good reasons. After liberation, the people became masters of the state, and the people's government is a government that works for the interests of the broad masses. To guarantee the democratic rights, security and authority of the legal system, the state has laid down appropriate policies and drawn up laws. Whenever conflicts arise among the people, they should rely on the government and the proper organizations to settle them. However, there have been people who have lacked a proper concept of the legal system. When disputes arose within the family or between neighbors, these people would not rely on the government and the organizations and in disregard of party discipline and of the laws of the state, would deal with the situation in their own private way, with the result that the conflict would be aggravated with dire consequences, for which they would then be punished according to law. There have been extremely painful lessons of this kind.

2. The mentality expressed in the saying: "People crave to vent their feelings to get even with somebody in an altercation, just as Buddha craves for sticks of incense." This is a bourgeois mentality of "face-saving," which is incompatible with the socialist concept of morality. In our socialist society human relations are comradely, and if contradictions arise they must be resolved in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, and by the method of unity--criticism--unity. However, there are people who for reasons of "face-saving," "getting even with someone," "getting the upper hand" and "gaining an advantage by unfair means" will fight over every trifle, will not refrain from violating party discipline and the laws of the land, will only fear "getting the worst of it" and "losing face." Even when they mistakenly feel wronged, they must vent their anger and will not refrain from shouting abuses, hitting out, getting into fisticuffs or even resorting to knives and guns in acts of violence and murder, of which the consequences are very serious. While they feared to lose face in a small way, they will lose face in a big way by being sentenced in court, and by then remorse will be too late. From the facts of such cases we learn that the mistaken mentality of "face-saving" is something we should shun by all means.

3. The mentality expressed in the saying: "Be considerate of sensibilities, loyal to friends, be willing to be stabbed twice in the chest for the sake of friendship." That was the evil custom of the hooligans of feudal

secret societies. To be tainted with this bad habit is very dangerous and harmful. People of this mentality cannot distinguish right from wrong, or honorable from shameful conduct, and have no regard for law and morality. At the bidding of a friend, they will immediately draw their sword and rush to assist. In simple cases, such men will render a situation that could have been easily resolved by normal ways and means into a complex situation and into a knotty problem that defies solution. In serious cases, they will have caused injuries and even deaths, gone the way of criminality and in the end be sentenced in court. Some youths will blindly join in gang fights only for the sake of a "code of brotherhood." Some will injure or kill someone without even knowing the name of their opponent and be jailed hardly knowing what it was all about. With these examples in mind, we should instruct the small number of susceptible youths that if they get into such situations they must retain coolheadedness, distinctly determine what is right and what is wrong, not rely on some false code of loyalty, not blindly engage in foolhardy acts, since otherwise one wrong step could bring eternal regret.

4. The mentality expressed in the saying: "As the arm will always bend inward, we will always favor our own family." This mistaken mentality, which has no regard for principles and does not distinguish between right and wrong, is very pronounced among a small number of base-level cadres of factories and enterprises. When a conflict arises between the staff and workers of their own unit with those of another unit, they will most likely take sides with the staff and workers of their own unit and regard it as a matter of course that concern and help will be extended the way "the arm always bends inward." They will then try to solve the contradiction along this line of thinking, but because both organizations will in such cases take a position that only considers the interests of the staff and workers of their own unit and only speak for the staff and workers of their own unit, yield only to them and shield them in every way, they will render the conflict difficult of solution. Once the conflict cannot be resolved, they will feel completely frustrated, turn away and not bother about it anymore, so that some conflicts will become more and more intense. In the handling of contradictions among the people, the broad masses of base-level cadres must, therefore, seek truth from facts, distinguish right from wrong, firmly uphold principles, and each cadre must step up political and ideological work among the staff and workers of his own unit or department and help them solve certain actual problems, so as to guide any contradiction into a more amenable direction.

#### How to Prevent the Intensification of Contradictions Among the People

Can intensification of contradictions among the people be prevented? In our opinion that is possible. In the beginning, contradictions among the people do not start out as unreconcilable and without room for compromise. Moreover, certain contradictions are openly exposed with all facts of the case evident. If all concerned would give serious attention to them and energetically work on them during their length process of evolution and development, many contradictions could be resolved or mitigated. How then can we prevent the intensification of contradictions among the people?

1. Increase propaganda and education in socialist morality, develop socialist moral customs, achieve greater penetration of the "five stresses, four points of beauty" and the "learn from Lei Feng, establish a new style of work" activities. For instance, in Lianjian Xincun of the Changning District, there is a 4-story building occupied by 22 households. All are instructors, employees or workers of the Huadong Textile Engineering College. For over 20 years they have all been good friends and neighbors, living even better together than a real family would. Old mother Wen, 77 years of age, for many years day in and day out has brought everybody their newspapers, removed the garbage for every one of the households, and if some family had no one to buy food due to illness, or husband and wife both working, she would take care of it on her own accord and bring food right to their doorsteps. The occupants of the building also drew up a set of regulations prescribing that weddings must be held as simple as possible, regardless of whose children get married. When sooner or later four youths got married, they voluntarily did not arrange wedding banquets and limousines for transportation. During the winter and summer holidays, some retired staff and workers undertook to organize holiday study groups, arranging studies every day, now going on for already 7 years. Six old ladies in the building assumed responsibility for hygiene, security, instructions for the youngsters and for other affairs of daily life. Everybody was, therefore, telling the story of how the people of this building lived together as united and dear to each other as members of one family. Giving emphatic publicity to these good people and their good deeds can have a great stimulating effect on raising socialist moral customs.

2. Establish correct concepts of marriage and love to have contented and happy families. Many young people have established correct concepts of love and marriage, and in selecting their partners in marriage give attention to whether both sides have the same ideals, goals and inclinations. Each will observe whether his or her partner has good mentality, character and sentiments, and will not merely go by outer appearances, economic conditions and social status. Only in this way will their mutual love be built on a firm foundation and will they become a happy family that is able to withstand all tests of time.

3. Firmly establish the concept of the legal system and strictly observe the state's laws and decrees. We must launch propaganda on the legal system on a broad scale and educate the people to gain a better understanding of the legal system, to observe discipline and obey the laws. This is an important measure to prevent crimes and also to prevent the intensification of contradictions among the people. Everyone must propagate law and discipline, everyone must observe law and discipline and everyone must resolutely take up the fight against violations of the law and disruption of discipline. In addition to teaching the masses observance of the law and discipline in all factories, enterprises, residential districts and neighborhoods, rural people's communes and brigades, we must mobilize the masses to draw up factory regulations, shop regulations, village regulations, people's covenants and citizens' pacts. The small minority of people who are intent on violence and high-handed acts, who run wild and defy the law,

must be punished according to law and severely dealt with, and under no circumstances must they be treated tolerantly and indulgently and allowed to remain at large.

4. Correctly deal with contradictions among the people by striving to nip conflicts in the bud and prevent their intensification. We must correctly deal with every kind of contradiction among the people, get a firm grip on the seeds of such affairs and not let loose, do effective and in-depth ideological and political work and strive to nip conflicts in the bud. Here we introduce three experiences of how to correctly and promptly deal with contradictions among the people. The first case: In the Hu family living in the Changning District there was constant quarrel and fighting between the mother and her sons, "even fowls and dogs had no peace," and it became so bad that the eldest son came near to exploding in a rash act in disregard of all dangers to life. When the people's police and the neighborhood cadre heard about it, they delved into the matter to find out exactly the crucial reasons for the situation; it was that the eldest son, already 36 years old and still unmarried, had no house and no money to get married, though there was an extra room available, but the mother refused to give it to him and would also not give him any money. The tension between the two was great. The police and the cadre then worked on the mother and brought her to understand that if the conflict would one day suddenly flare up sharply, great calamity could befall the whole family. As a result the mother very happily allotted the room to her son and also gave him money to get married, and the contradiction was thus appropriately resolved. The second case: The two families, Huang and Qiao, living in the Huangpu District, got into a dispute merely because of a coal briquet stove placed in a communal area. They quarreled about it for as much as 3 years, and it finally got to a stage where both sides were ready to fight it out with knives at the risk of their lives. The neighborhood party branch and the mediation cadre used the method of "opening different locks with different keys," and imparted ideological education in scores of separate sessions until both parties finally came to an understanding, patched up their quarrel and became reconciled, thus preventing the possible tragedy of a serious fight. The third case: A pair of lovers in Jinlong St of the Huangpu District had a falling-out and relations were broken off. However, the man forced his way into the girl's house several times and kept pestering the family without letup, threatening: "Even if the girl dies, I will have a wedding with her corpse." He also suspected the girl's aunt of having been responsible for the breakup and threatened to kill her whole family. Through the efforts of the local neighborhood committee, with the help of repeated admonitions and guidance by various units, relations and friends, and with much patient and penetrating ideological education, also giving assistance in certain actual problems, the misguided ways of thinking of the man were finally dispelled and the conflict eliminated, "melting away like ice" and avoiding what could have become a serious incident threatening lives and property.

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## CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

### HARASSMENT OF INTELLECTUAL CORRECTED IN GUANGDONG

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 May 83 p 3

[Article: "Discrimination and Attacks Against Intellectuals Are Unpopular"]

[Text] Our staff reporter Hu Sisheng [5170 1835 0581] and YANGCHENG WANBAO reporter Liu Wanling [0491 1238 3781] report that the main cadre-in-charge of Jinan University's Journalism Department has discriminated against and attacked intellectuals and causes vehement dissatisfaction among teachers. The Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee, in accordance with the response of the masses, sent a fact-finding team to become involved at Jinan University in supervising and urging that this school's CPC Committee correct its mistakes and implement the policy toward intellectuals. At the beginning of May, the Jinan University CPC Committee convened an expanded meeting and severely criticized the erroneous statements and actions of the Journalism Department's main cadre-in-charge, and moreover, ordered the Journalism Department to correct its past erroneous practices.

The main cadre-in-charge of the Jinan University Journalism Department has had a "left-wing" view of his treatment of intellectuals, on many issues insisting upon the mistaken methods of "leftism." For example, in the beginning of 1981, a student academic publication supported by the department leader ceased a student academic publication supported by the department leader ceased publication abruptly. Later, this leader condemned the publication as being a "negative example" and, moreover, labeled an older professor named Chen Lang [7115 2597], who had only read a few of the articles contained in it, as the "behind-the-scenes editor-in-chief," in addition to criticizing his publically. Comrade Chen's being erroneously called a "rightist" in 1957 has already been corrected. However, the main cadre-in-charge of the Journalism Department of Jinan University persists in regarding Chen Lang as a "rightist," and when Chen Lang was invited to lecture outside the school, he was prevented from doing so on behalf of the department with the claim that he was a "rightist," "a bird who fears the bow and is unwilling to be lonely." In 1982, the main cadre-in-charge of the department resorted to improper tricks to cause Chen Lang to lose his council membership in the Guangdong Provincial Association of Journalists, and even stripped him of his right to evaluate title appointments. The wrongful practices of the above-mentioned main cadre-in-charge of the Journalism Department received the support of individual leaders on the school's CPC committee. One school

leader went so far as to threaten Chen Lang saying: "Won't it be easy to get you arrested? All I have to do is nod my head."

The Journalism Department's main cadre-in-charge "draws lines and pigeon-holes" the teachers in the department, stifling and attacking the initiative of most of them. Comrade Chen Lang and other teachers reported the serious problems of this department to higher authorities and concerned sectors and received the serious attention of the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee. With this committee's interference and supervision, the school's CPC Committee recently harshly criticized the mistake of the Journalism Department's main cadre-in-charge of violating the party's policy toward intellectuals. The school's CPC Committee decided to renounce all of the slander and libel leveled against Comrade Chen Lang and proposed that the Guangdong Provincial Association of Journalists reinstate his council membership and that he be allowed to resume participation in the evaluation of professional title appointments; along with this, they simultaneously ordered the main cadre-in-charge of the Journalism Department to undergo an investigation.

At the expanded meeting of Jinan University's CPC Committee, many comrades pointed out that since Jinan University's restoration, it has had success in its work; however, there are rather apparent problems, the main one being that the pernicious influence of the "left wing" has not been eliminated, and the policy toward intellectuals has not been implemented.

Currently, it is the ardent hope of this school's teachers and students that the school CPC Committee adopt even more practical measures to implement the policy toward intellectuals and make such an institution of higher learning as Jinan University, which has influence at home and abroad, improve upon what it already does well.

12314

CSO: 4500/897

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HOUSING VIOLATIONS CORRECTED IN HUBEI

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 May 83 p 1

[Dispatch from Wuhan Hsinhua Agency Correspondent Ye Zijian [0673 1311 0256]: "Four Secretaries of the Xiangyang Prefecture CPC Committee Who Forceably Occupied New Buildings Declare It Will Not Happen Again; the Hubei Provincial CPC Committee Orders Self-Examination and Immediate Evacuation"]

[Text] After the open letter from the CPC Discipline Inspection Commission concerning the correction of wrongful practices in housing construction and distribution was made public, Xiangyang Prefecture's CPC Committee secretary Wang Yao [3769 5069] and deputy secretaries Dong Huasheng [5516 5478 3932], Zhang Anwen [1728 1344 2429] and Shen Hanmin [3088 3352 3046], bent on having their own way, moved into luxurious, overly spacious houses with private courtyards. Having received a severe reprimand from the Hubei Provincial CPC Committee, today they have already evacuated the buildings.

From 28 April to 7 May, Wang Yao, Dong Huasheng, Zhang Anwen and Shen Hanmin successively moved into two newly constructed buildings. With two households to a building, on the average, each household occupied a living space of 226 square meters, which is more than double the standard, in all there being 7 bedrooms, 2 living rooms, 2 bathrooms, and a kitchen and a chicken house. The rooms, 4 meters high, were furnished with heat, and the windows had curtains provided for by public funds.

To the inordinate housing occupation by Wang Yao and the others, the Xiangyang CPC Committee cadres responded vehemently, all being of the opinion that this kind of behavior is a knowing violation of regulations. At a meeting attended by country deputy chairmen on 4 May, Wang Yao stated: We are preparing for self-criticism. However, we have already moved into the new housing. It will not happen again; and from now on engaging in illegal housing construction and distribution will not be allowed.

On 14 May, after the Provincial Hubei CPC Committee's comrades in charge understood this situation, they advanced a severe reprimand of the four, including Wang Yao, and, moreover, ordered them to earnestly examine their mistakes and evacuate the houses immediately.

12314

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## CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

### BRIEFS

CADRE PROMOTIONS RESCINDED--Correspondent Wu Xinghua [0702 5281 5478] reports that Hunan Province's CPC Discipline Inspection Commission and the provincial CPC Organization Department jointly issued an urgent circular announcing that none of the cadres rapidly promoted during the administrative reform will be recognized. During the period of administrative reform, some people in charge of some places and units, because of some selfish ideas and personal considerations, ignored the regulation laid down a long time ago by the provincial CPC Committee and rapidly promoted cadres. In order to correct this unhealthy tendency, the Hunan Provincial CPC Discipline Inspection Commission and the Organization Department both announced: except for cadres promoted for enterprise consolidation, for the separate establishment of government administration and communes, for the establishment of township political power and to the systems-reform pilot units of supply and marketing cooperatives, none of the cadres promoted after the provincial CPC Committee's circular was issued in October of last year will be recognized. In cases where the circumstances have been very serious, leadership responsibility must be traced. It is demanded that units in which this has occurred be responsible for correcting the matter and apologizing to those who were promoted. [Text] [Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 May 83 p 4] 12314

WUHAN UNIVERSITY LEAVE SYSTEM--In September of last year, Wuhan University began trying a system of academic leave lasting 1 year or 6 months for its teachers. The first group to enjoy the leave was composed of 11 teachers--6 professors, 3 assistant professors and 2 instructors. They highly treasured this rare opportunity to go on academic leave. Liu Xuyi [0491 4872 6318], a professor in the history department, usually worked until late at night. He used the academic leave to edit two volumes of the "Meiguo Xiandai Shi Congshu" [Modern History of the United States Series], in all, 150,000 words, completing the whole manuscript and turning it over to the publisher; he also compiled and checked 20 entries concerning U.S. history for the Chinese Encyclopedia; he compiled and checked the detailed outline for 17 chapters of "Meiguo Tongshi" [General History of the United States], in all, over 140,000 words; and also wrote 2 articles concerning U.S. history. Professor Yu Jiarung [0151 1367 2837] of the mathematics department promoted international academic exchange by using the academic leave to go abroad and hold interviews and lectures and also by writing three articles which were published abroad. Several professors who had just been on academic leave happily said: "Practicing the academic leave system allows teachers a period of concentration to refresh their knowledge, summarize their teaching experiences and write articles." [Text] [Beijing WENZHAI BAO in Chinese No 86, 27 May 83 p 6] 12314

## SOUTHWEST REGION

### RENMIN RIBAO ON XIZANG-MOTHERLAND RELATIONS

HK280900 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Xuan [6881]: "Development of Relations Between Xizang and the Motherland"]

[Text] There are many cultural relics of the Stone Age scattered in Xizang, and various simple and ancient legends of wonder have spread among the people. Dating back to the very beginning, people lived in warm river valleys and forests, and through long years of development, there appeared about a dozen tribes; and it was not until the 7th century that Songzain Gambo, the national hero, unified and established the Tubo [0685 5603] Kingdom, a state based on the slave system; and Luosuo [6707 1223] (today's Lhasa) was designated as capital, military and governmental districts were divided, officials were appointed and offices founded, a written language was created and a legal system established. In 641 ad, the marriage between Songzain Gambo and princess Wan Cheng made outstanding contributions to the progress and prosperity of the Zang nationality and the development of the unity of various nationalities of the motherland.

In the middle of the 9th century, the Tubo Kingdom completely collapsed in the great uprising of the slaves. Xizang was then split into many local power cliques and slowly and gradually marched toward feudalism. During the period from the Five Dynasties to the reign of the two Song Dynasties, Xizang formed about a dozen comparatively big local powers, and the economic and cultural exchanges, such as the tea-and-horse trade and the introduction of the art of printing with engraved woodblocks, between them and the various nationalities in the inland and the Zang nationality in the eastern and northern parts of Xizang further developed.

In the early days, when Kublai Khan, the founding emperor of the Yuan Dynasty took the throne, he honored Pagba, leader of the Sagya Sect as the Tutor of the State (later, he was honored as "Tutor of the Great Yuan Empire"). In 1214, Kublai Khan established the Zhongzhiyuan [4920 0455 7180]; later was changed into Xuanzhengyuan [1357 2398 7180] [a government department in charge of the nation's Buddhist affairs and of Xizang's military, government and religious affairs], set up courier stations and military posts in Xizang, and dispatched pacification commissioners and armies there. This was the first time in our history that the central authorities of

our motherland had formally established an organizational system in the Xizang region. This was formulated by the Yuan Dynasty in accordance with the historical course of change and development, and the actual situation of the whole Xizang region. In 1268, Kublai Khan sent his men to Xizang; censuses were conducted, levies fixed, and 13 Wanhu [5502 2073] [military administrative office theoretically authorised with the command of soldiers] were organized, and officials of the Sagya Sect were appointed in supervising the levy of taxes of various Wanhu. The former site of Tubo was made the hereditary property of Prince Aoluchi [1159 7627 6375], the seventh son of the emperor. After that, Xizang region formally came under the jurisdiction of the central authorities, and a local administrative system of integrating the state with religion was established. Toward the time of the fall of the Ming Dynasty and the rise of the Qing Dynasty, the Tumed Mongol leader Altan and Gushi Khan, leader of the Khoshotd tribe occupied Xizang region, and gave support to the leader of the Dge-Lugs-Pa in ruling Tibet. In accordance with the old systems of the Yuan and Ming Dynasties, and the actual situations of Xizang, the Qing Dynasty made important reforms in the administration of Xizang. In the early days of the Qing Dynasty, Lifanyuan [3810 5603 7180] was established at the central level, (later it was changed into a ministry, and was called Mongol Yamen,) specializing in the administration of Mongolian and Xizang affairs; and the policy of "promoting the Yellow Sect to pacify various Mongolian tribes" was adopted, and the titles of Dalai Lama and Bainqen Erdeni of the two living buddha systems of the Dge-Lugs-Pa order were formally installed. After that the titles of Dalai and Bainqen were acknowledged by the central authorities, and it was an established practice for all Dalai Lamas and Bainqens to have their titles conferred on them by the central monarchy. After the elimination of the influences of the Mongol Khans in Xizang, the Qing Dynasty began sending its high commissioners to Xizang to help in administrative work from about 1728. And in 1751, it decided to set up the Gasha, the local government of Xizang. In 1793, "regulations concerning the administration of Xizang" were promulgated. The regulations stipulated that the high commissioners, and the Dalai Lama and Bainqen Erdeni held equal positions and handled local government affairs through consultation; and the system of officials, the military system, the administration of justice, border defence, finance, census registration, corvee, matters concerning foreign affairs and so on, and the system of the reincarnation of the Dalai, Bainqen or living buddhas were all stipulated in explicit terms. The Qing Dynasty on several occasions sent its army to Xizang, to dispel the harassment of various Mongol tribes, and to repulse the Gurkha invasion. And in 1888 and 1904, the local army of Xizang twice fought bravely in resistance against British armed invasion. Their heroic deeds have been recorded in the history of the anti-imperialism of the Chinese nation.

The revolution of 1911 overthrew the feudal imperial system. The national government inherited the administrative system in the Zang nationality region of the Qing Dynasty, and set up at the central level an organization handling the affairs of the Mongol and Zang nationalities. Delegates from Xizang were elected to take part in the national congress, and chief commissioners were stationed in Xizang to handle affairs. At that time, the British authorities did their utmost to thwart and undermine this. In 1914, during

the Simla conference held in India on the Xizang issue, the British representative McMahon put forward a draft proposal to divide Xizang, which was negated by the national government, and also opposed by the Dalai Lama. During the "4 May" movement in 1919, the national government revealed the whole process of the Sino-British negotiations concerning the unsettled issue of Xizang, which roused waves of indignation against imperialism throughout the nation and among overseas Chinese; religious and secular leaders of Zang nationality also sent letters or telegrams in succession to express their strong condemnation of the evil plot to split Xizang on the part of British imperialism at the Simla conference. In 1934, the national government sent its officials of the Mongol-Zang commission to be stationed in Xizang and handle affairs. In 1940, at the inauguration ceremony of the 14th Dalai Lama, Bstan-Dzin-Rgya-Mtsho, and in 1949 at the inauguration ceremony of the 10th Bainqen Erdeni, Qoigui Gyaincain, the national government held to the old system in examining and approving the reports, and sent the director of the Mongol-Zang commission to preside over the ceremonies in both cases.

With the founding of the PRC in 1949, the Zang nationality in Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, Yunnan, and Xikang was emancipated in succession, the central authorities made several statements on the Xizang issue and measures of settlement were put forward. In 1950, the Qamdo area was liberated, and the Xizang local government sent its plenipotentiary to Beijing to negotiate with the central authorities in 1951, and eventually the "agreement for the peaceful liberation of Xizang between the central people's government and the Xizang local government" was signed. After the signing of the agreement, both Dalai Lama and Bainqen Erdeni sent telegrams to the central authorities to express their resolute support of the agreement, and the religious and secular people of various strata and leaders of the Zang nationality in various places also expressed their warm support. The signing of the agreement has made great contributions to the unification of the motherland and the prosperity of Xizang.

CSO: 4005/1042

SOUTHWEST REGION

YUNNAN RIBAO ON UPHOLDING CPC IDEOLOGICAL LINE

HK210600 Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Zou Qiyu [6760 0796 1342]: "We Should Always Uphold the Party's Ideological Line"]

[Text] From 1975 to the opening of the 12th CPC National Congress in 1982, our country experienced a great historical turn. The tremendous changes that happened in these 7 or 8 years remain fresh in almost everyone's memory. Therefore, we feel especially touched when we read the important speeches delivered by Comrade Deng Xiaoping during this period compiled in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping."

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has substantial content. From these collected works, we can study again the process of reestablishing the Marxist ideological line by the party in the past 7 or 8 years, further understand the great significance of a correct ideological line on the destiny of the party and our country, and thoroughly realize the gigantic efforts and the most outstanding contributions made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in reestablishing the party's ideological line, thus greatly strengthening our determination and confidence in always upholding the party's ideological line.

Let me talk about my understanding and personal experience in the following three aspects:

1. After Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of the daily affairs of the central authorities in 1975, he worked hard to uphold the party's ideological line and represented the party's correct leadership even under the difficult circumstances of the "Cultural Revolution."

Seeking truth from facts is the foundation of drawing up a correct political line and is the guarantee for correctly implementing the political line. Therefore, it is closely related with the prospects and destiny of the party and our country. When our party was founded in 1921, we did not establish this ideological line right away. At that time, a large number of outstanding personages in the party, headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, worked hard to apply Marxist theory to the concrete practice of Chinese revolution. In the process of practice-cognition-more practice-more cognition and in the



struggle against various erroneous trends in the party, they gradually realized and upheld the practice of seeking truth from facts. As early as 1930, Comrade Mao Zedong had already put forward the issue of opposing bookishness and stressed that investigation and study were the first step in doing everything. He said that anyone who did not investigate was disqualified to speak. During the time between the Zunyi meeting in 1935 and the Yanan rectification movement, he made a series of scientific talks. He systematically criticized dogmatism and empiricism, and established the ideological line of seeking truth from facts for our party, thus leading our masses to win the great victory in the new democratic revolution, to achieve the change from new democracy to socialism, to implement systematic economic construction, to accomplish a basically socialist remolding of private ownership system of production materials, and so on. However, in his later years, he deviated from the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and from the path of integrating the general theory of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of Chinese revolution. He erroneously launched the "Cultural Revolution" and his mistakes were taken advantage of by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, bringing serious calamity to the party and the state.

After Comrade Deng Xiaoping took charge of the daily affairs of the central authorities in 1975, he straightened out work in various aspects and systematically rectified mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" in light of the reality at that time. From his eight important speeches delivered in that year, compiled in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," we can see that, aiming at the facts that the party leadership was seriously undermined and weakened, he pointed out: "How can we do without party leadership? What is the use if the party's words are ineffective?" He stressed that the core of rectification is to strengthen the party leadership he "proposed that we should first rectify the leading group from top to bottom at all levels." He also pointed out: The general interest of the whole party is to carry out the four modernizations and to improve the national economy. For this reason, we must strengthen party spirit, overcome factionalism, carry out the policies, [?] and perfect rules and regulations, and uphold the principle of distribution according to work, and so on. This whole set of proposals and measures that hit the grasped the crucial point of the situation and totally conformed with reality, the fundamental interests of the party and the state, and the wishes of the people of the whole nation. At the same time, Comrade Deng Xiaoping profoundly revealed and criticized the practice of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, that is, vulgarizing and isolating Mao Zedong Thought; and put forward his correct proposal of "studying, publicizing, and implementing Mao Zedong Thought in an all-round way." All these facts show that Comrade Deng Xiaoping at all times upheld the ideological line of seeking truth from facts even in that extremely complicated situation, and tried his best to correct the political and organizational direction of the party and the state. When he was forced to step down from his leading posts, people on the contrary, became more aware, not less, of the correctness of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's leadership by comparing the realities. Therefore, after the smashing of the "gang of four," people of the whole nation of course strongly demanded the restoration of Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

2. After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Deng Xiaoping acted as the key for the whole party in reestablishing the Marxist ideological line.

In the first 2 years after the cracking down of the "gang of four," Comrade Hua Guofeng, who was then chairman of the CPC Central Committee, pursued the principle of the "two whatevers," hesitated for a long time over rectification, and insisted on continuously upholding the "leftist" mistakes in guiding ideology. Comrade Deng Xiaoping had already begun to criticize the "two whatevers" before his job responsibilities were restored. He first called on the whole party to break through the confinement of dogmatism and personality cult in order to struggle for reestablishing the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. In the speech "the 'two whatevers' are incompatible with Marxism," he pinpointed the fact that the "two whatevers" did not work; and reiterated that "we must use the correct and complete Mao Zedong Thought to guide our whole party, whole army, and whole people." In the following four speeches "completely and correctly understand Mao Zedong Thought," "the issue of bringing order out of chaos on the educational front," "speech delivered at the all-army political work conference," and "principles of holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought and seeking truth from facts," he systematically criticized the erroneous viewpoint of the "two whatevers" and discussed in detail the historical experience of Comrade Mao Zedong in reestablishing the Marxist ideological line for the whole party. He profoundly pointed out: The starting point, fundamental point, and the quintessence of Mao Zedong Thought is to seek truth from facts, that is, to integrate the general theory of Marxism with the concrete practice of Chinese revolution. He said: "The reason why Comrade Mao Zedong is so great and was able to lead the Chinese revolution to victory is that, in the final analysis, he based himself on this." He pointed out: If we object to the practice of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality, and integrating theory with practice, we shall only be led to idealism and metaphysics, and only be led to losses in our work and failure in our revolution. These brilliant expositions of Comrade Deng Xiaoping provided enough mental preparations for the third plenary session of the CPC Central Committee in reestablishing the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts. The speech "emancipate our mind, seek truth from facts, unite as one, and look forward" delivered by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the closing session of the CPC Central Committee's work conference on 13 December 1978 was actually the main report of the third plenary session of the CPC Central Committee. With the slogan "emancipating our mind, using our brain, seeking truth from facts, uniting as one, and looking forward" put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, the third plenary session of the CPC Central Committee determined the guiding principles for the work of the whole party and basically smashed the heavy trammels of the long-term erroneous "leftist" deviation, rectified the party's guiding ideology, and reestablished the Marxist ideological, political, and organizational lines. From the 3d plenary session of the CPC Central Committee to the 12th CPC National Congress, our party accomplished the arduous task of bringing order out of chaos in guiding ideology, won a signal victory of bringing order out of chaos in practical work of all fronts, and achieved historical great changes.

Today, we are creating in all-round way a new situation in socialist modernization in accordance with the guiding principle of the 12th CPC National Congress, in order to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. All these are inseparable from the reestablished Marxist ideological line of the whole party.

3. We should conscientiously study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" in order to uphold the party's ideological line more spontaneously and work hard to fulfill the great task assigned by the 12th CPC National Congress.

Through the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party reestablished the Marxist ideological line. The ideological, political, and organizational lines of the CPC Central Committee are all correct. However, these do not mean that each of our units and our comrades has solved the problem of ideological line as the CPC Central Committee did. In order to correctly understand and conscientiously implement the party's political line and various principles and policies and in order to be politically more united with the CPC Central Committee, we should solve well the problem on the ideological line.

Our province has learned from many experiences and lessons about the problem of the ideological line since liberation. Whenever we handle our work in a relatively truth-seeking way, our development of the socialist construction cause is relatively rapid and various kinds of work are done relatively well. But whenever we deviate from the principle of seeking truth from facts, the situation is just the opposite. At present, the 12th CPC National Congress has assigned us the great task of creating a new situation in an all-round way. There are sure to be new situations and new problems emerging one after another before us, requiring us to investigate and solve them. Besides, our province is a frontier one with many nationalities. We have special situations and special problems which are different from those of the interior, which make our case more complicated. All these things demand that we strictly follow the party's ideological line in order to strive to handle the work according to reality. This means that we all face problems in further understanding and always upholding the party's ideological line. The publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" provides us an extremely good document to understand the process of reestablishing the party's ideological line and to thoroughly understand the party's line, principles, and policies. Let us get together to conscientiously study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" in order to uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought in our fulfillment of the great task during the new historical period.

CSO: 4005/1042

## SOUTHWEST REGION

### SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

HK181028 Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 83 p 1

[Commentator's article: "A Current Major Task on the Ideological Front"]

[Text] Recently, the provincial CPC committee approved and conveyed a report of the Propaganda Department and decided to carry out extensive and intensive propaganda and education work concerning the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics in urban and rural areas throughout the province. The provincial CPC committee holds that it is very important to publicize the issue systematically because, by acting in this way, it helps to lead the in-depth study and publicity of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, and it helps to clarify confused understanding which occurs in the process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and to clarify our general target of carrying out various reforms. CPC committees at all levels should treat this propaganda as a current major task on the ideological front and conscientiously grasp the work well in accordance with the plan drawn up by the provincial CPC committee.

The building of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the general guiding ideology of the party in the new period of directing the four modernizations. It is also our general target of carrying out various reforms. In his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Integrating the general truth of Marxism with our specific realities, acting in our own way, and building socialism with Chinese characteristics are the basic conclusions after summing up our long-term historical experience." The target of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, which was put forward by the CPC Central Committee, is warmly welcomed by all nationalities throughout the country; and various major decisions based on this purpose are conscientiously being implemented on all fronts. However, the issue is, after all, a new task on which some of our comrades still lack clear ideological understanding. Of course, we cannot expect the issue to be clarified just by studying and publicizing it once; at the same time, neither can we fail to seriously study and publicize it just because we have not yet handled this issue skillfully. As a matter of fact, in the process of studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, party comrades and non-party comrades have enthusiastically expressed their concern over the issue. If it is said that we did not stress this major task enough during the

early phase of studying the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, then we must conscientiously make up this missed lesson in the future study of the documents in order to enable our party members and the masses to clearly understand the party's general guiding ideology and its general goal of implementing various reforms in the new period of directing the four modernizations, and let them be fully mentally prepared for building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Often, thinking lags behind the situation. It seems that, on the issue of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, many comrades are confused due to a lack of mental preparation. For example, some comrades believe that implementing modernization with Chinese characteristics is so-called "accepting second best"; some comrades believe that "production results are gratifying but the trend is worrying," though they do not deny the great advance since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; and some people even believe "more and more reforms mean getting divorced from fine socialism" and they are always worried about "lapsing into the way of capitalism." When confronted with a new major task, it is not unusual to have this or that kind of confused understanding. In fact, there are some historical reasons for this. One of the reasons is that they are profoundly influenced by the erroneous "leftist" guiding ideology which prevailed for a long time. Though we have accomplished the task of bringing order out of chaos in the party's guiding ideology, this kind of erroneous "leftist" influence is still not yet completely wiped out. Therefore, some people's mind are still confined. They get used to "leftist" things or a certain kind of so-called pattern. It seems that only this pattern is "socialism," and once it is changed or when we proceed from reality and act in our own way to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, they feel that it will be incompatible. Launching propaganda and education work at present is aimed at clarifying all confused understanding on this issue. This process is actually a continuous process of wiping out the erroneous "leftist" and rightist influences. And only in this way can we greatly heighten our consciousness when carrying out the party line, principles, and policies since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Of course, both in theory and practice, building socialism with Chinese characteristics cannot but be a process of long-term and continuous reform. We must, of course, uphold the basic theory of Marxism. However, our revolutionary teachers do not and cannot prepare a blueprint for us. There is no doubt that we must study and draw lessons from the valuable experience of foreign countries, but there is no fixed or standard pattern. We have experienced much in our past. But there are indeed some things that cannot suit our national conditions, due to the erroneous "leftist" influence that prevailed for a long time. Then, what is the solution? The answer is to reform while exploring; that is, to reform while we are continuously exploring, and to continue exploring while we are reforming in depth. Thus, in this way, we are perfecting a socialism with Chinese characteristics in various aspects, including the development of productive forces, the production relations to suit this situation, and the superstructure to suit our

economic foundation. Proceeding from this point of view, studying and publicizing the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics will undoubtedly be of tremendous practical significance, both in our theoretical exploring and in our practical reform.

The present propaganda and education work is, in itself, meticulous and complicated ideological work which requires the CPC committees at all levels to conscientiously strengthen their leadership over the work. The party and government leading cadres should not only be strict with themselves to really study it well, but also positively take the lead in talking to the grassroots levels. On policy or ideological questions of concern to cadres and the masses, they should answer them with the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, in order to let our various reforms, which are being carried out at present, proceed smoothly and in a correct direction.

CSO: 4005/1042

SOUTHWEST REGION

GUIZHOU PEOPLE'S CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETS

HK160612 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 15 Jul 83

[Summary] The Guizhou Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee opened its second meeting on 15 July. The meeting will convey and study the spirit of the First Session of the Sixth NPC, listen to a provincial government report on economic work in the first half of the year, and discuss and adopt resolutions on setting up four committees under the standing committee.

Chairman Wu Shi opened the meeting by conveying the spirit of the Sixth NPC. Vice Governor Zhang Yuhuan then reported on the province's economic work in the first half of the year. He said: During this period, the province's agricultural production was done well, and the progress rate demanded for fulfilling the year's industry and communications plans was basically met. Economic results improved. The general situation in financial revenue was also good.

Zhang Yuhuan went on to point out: "In the second half of the year, we must seriously implement the spirit of the First Session of the Sixth NPC and the central instructions, resolutely curb the two bad practices of indiscriminately hiking prices and exacting charges, further improve all work and strive, on the basis of improving economic results, to fulfill and overfulfill the province's national economic plan for the year."

Standing committee Vice Chairman Wu Su presided at the meeting. Group discussions were held in the afternoon.

CSO: 4005/1042

SOUTHWEST REGION

GUIZHOU PEOPLE'S CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETING ENDS

HK210255 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 20 Jul 83

[Summary] The second meeting of the Sixth Guizhou Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee concluded on 20 July. Chairman Wu Shi presided at the final session and made a speech. The participants studied the documents of the First Session of the Sixth NPC and pledged to seriously implement them.

The meeting approved the establishment of nationalities, law, finance and economy, and education, science, culture, and public health committees under the provincial people's congress standing committee.

The meeting made the following appointments in the provincial government: (Long Zhiyi) to be director of the provincial national defense science and technology and industry office; (Li Yuandong) to be director of the provincial physical culture and sports committee; (Wang Jilun) to be director of the provincial judicial department; (Wang Lianyou) to be director of the provincial commerce bureau; (Zhang Ruheng) to be director of the provincial public health department; (Yang Dezheng) to be director of the provincial broadcasting and television department; (Zhou Yili) to be director of the provincial industry and commerce administrative bureau; and (Wang Weilian) to be director of the provincial science and technology committee.

CSO: 4005/1042



SOUTHWEST REGION

SICHUAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING ENDS 12 JUL

HK140934 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 13 Jul 83

[Summary] The second meeting of the Sixth Sichuan Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee concluded yesterday afternoon. At the conclusion of the meeting, Du Xinyuan, chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, spoke about three issues: the study and implementation of the spirit of the first session of the Sixth NPC; guaranteeing the enforcement of the constitution; and the work of the several committees of the provincial people's congress standing committee.

Du Xinyuan said: "We must seriously study all important documents of the first session of the Sixth NPC and implement the spirit of the congress in all items of our work. We must link the study of the spirit of the 1st session of the 6th NPC with the study of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, with the study of the new constitution, and with the serious study of the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping.' When we seriously study the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping,' we can further deepen our understanding of the line, principles, and policies of the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and implement more conscientiously the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the 1st session of the 6th NPC."

Du Xinyuan said: "In his speech at the first session of the sixth NPC, Chairman Peng Zhen emphatically talked about mobilizing all forces to guarantee the enforcement of the constitution in all aspects. This speech is very important. We must seriously study and implement it. Local people's congress standing committees at all levels must first seriously study the constitution themselves and be familiar with the principles and provisions of the constitution. They must strictly abide by the constitution and the laws in the scope of their work. By virtue of the powers vested in them by the constitution, local organs of state power must correct and affix the responsibility for actions in violation of the constitution and the laws, in accordance with the laws." He also said that in April this year, the first session of the sixth provincial people's congress adopted a resolution on unfolding the activities throughout the province of studying, disseminating, and implementing the constitution. At present, the activities of disseminating the legal system with the constitution as the main content are being extensively and penetratingly carried out in all places throughout

the province. The provincial people's congress standing committee is also prepared to carry out an inspection at an appropriate time, of the situation in enforcing the constitution and the laws.

While dealing with the work of the several committees of the provincial people's congress standing committee, Du Xinyuan said that the provincial people's congress standing committee and all committees under its leadership have adhered to the principle of seeking truth from facts and have acted in accordance with the constitution.

At yesterday afternoon's full meeting, the supplementary regulations of Aba Zang Autonomous Prefecture on the enforcement of the PRC Marriage Law; the resolutions on the change of the tenure of office of the Chongqing, Chengdu, and Zigong City People's Congresses ahead of schedule; and the resolution on the establishment of the agricultural committee in the provincial people's congress standing committee were adopted. The namelists of the component members of the credentials committee, the nationalities committee, the legal system committee, the financial and economic committee, the education, science, culture, and public health committee of the provincial people's congress standing committee; the appointment of Luo Tongda as the chairman of the Sichuan Provincial Nationalities Affairs Committee; and other appointments and removals were also adopted.

Provincial people's congress standing committee Vice Chairman Meng Dongbo presided over yesterday's full meeting. Other provincial people's congress standing committee vice chairmen, including Qin Chuanhou, Zhang Xiushu, Liu Ziyi, Ma Shitu, Ji Chunguang, Liu Yunbo, Liu Haiquan, Liu Xilin, and Zhaxi Zeren, attended the meeting. Those attending the meeting as non-voting members were Vice Governor Kang Zhenhuang, Provincial Higher People's Court President (Ren Linyun), Provincial People's Procuratorate Chief Procurator (Gao Zhenzhong), and responsible persons of the people's congresses of Chongqing, Zigong, and Dukou Cities and Garze and Liangshan Autonomous Prefectures.

CSO: 4005/1042

SOUTHWEST REGION

SICHUAN OFFICIAL ON TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT PROGRESS

HK090338 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 9 Jul 83

[Excerpt] The second meeting of the sixth provincial people's congress standing committee held a full gathering yesterday. (Zhang Zhigong), director of the provincial civil affairs department, gave a report on the progress of pilot project work in separating government administration from commune management and establishing township governments.

He said: Under the direct leadership of the provincial CPC committee, Sichuan has carried out pilot project work in comprehensive rural reforms since 1979. This work includes separating government administration from commune management and setting up township governments. Practice has proven that by changing the system of integrating of government administration with commune management and separating the two, party, government, and economic work are all strengthened; grassroots government work is improved; and the prestige of the township governments among the masses has been enhanced. Particularly outstanding achievements have been scored in developing production and enlivening the rural economy.

(Zhang Zhigong) said: Separating government administration from commune management and setting up township governments is very meticulous work, which must be carried out under leadership and with plans and measures.

(Li Anlan), deputy director of the provincial student enrollment committee, gave a report on reforms in enrollment of students for universities and secondary technical schools this year.

Provincial people's congress standing committee Vice Chairman Qin Chuanhou presided at the meeting.

CSO: 4005/1042

## SOUTHWEST REGION

### YUNNAN PARTY DECISION ON STUDY OF DENG WORKS

HK240715 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 Jul 83

[Text] The Yunnan Provincial CPC Committee made a decision on 20 July on seriously studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," demanding that all prefectural, city, and county CPC committees, the departments and committees of the provincial CPC committee, the party groups of provincial committees, offices, departments and bureaus of state organs at provincial level, and the party groups of all mass organizations seriously launch a drive to study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," to make ideological preparations for the imminent all-round party rectification to be held in the coming autumn and winter.

The decision held: Seriously studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is a big affair for the whole party. Studying this book is of extremely importation significance for enhancing our level of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, firmly bringing the understanding of the whole party into harmony with the Marxist line laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and the 12th Party Congress, and leading the masses to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. The party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership over this study. The principal responsible comrades of the party committees must personally grasp this, look into specific arrangements, and carry out periodic inspections.

In the next 6 months, the party committees at all levels should organize the cadres and party members to seriously study the book in a planned way, in batches. The leading cadres must take the lead in study. All those able to read should mainly carry out self-study. The necessary discussions and guidance should also be organized. For those who find difficulty in reading, the grassroots organizations should give the necessary explanations on the relevant contents of "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" when publicizing the current policies. Study for cadres currently working should be organized by integrating study at ordinary times with brief, concentrated rotational training. Study should also be organized for retired cadres. Concentrated rotational training should be organized for cadres at and above county-level.

Beginning at the end of August, the principal responsible comrades such as the party-member cadres of the provincial CPC committee, people's

Congress standing committee, people's government, and CPPCC, the cadres of the provincial departments, offices, committees, and bureaus, and cadres of section-level should take part in concentrated study in batches, each session lasting 2 weeks. They should all have attended such courses by the end of October. Leading cadres of the prefectures, cities, and counties should have concentrated study in batches organized by the prefectural, city, and county CPC committees, with each session lasting 2 weeks. This process should be complete by year end. The party and cadre schools and cadre study courses should include the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" in their teaching plans and regard it as an important content of study in the second half of the year. The provincial CPC committee propaganda department must continue to organize forces to write articles explaining and expounding on this book, to help the cadres in their study.

The decision demands that, in studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," it is necessary to uphold the principle of linking theory with reality. It is first necessary to seriously read the book and be resolved to get a clear idea of its theoretical concepts and basic spirit. On this basis, it is necessary to sum up experiences and lessons in connection with the reality of one's thinking and of work in one's area or department, carry forward the achievements, overcome shortcomings, and correct unhealthy practices. In the second half of the year it is necessary to concentrate on solving the following problems in understanding:

1. Concentrate finances and material to ensure key construction projects.
2. The issue of the necessity of reform and the principles and policies for it, including reforms of the structure and the economic setup.
3. Persistently carry out simultaneous construction of material and spiritual civilization.
4. Issues of party building and rectification.

It is also necessary to integrate study of important articles in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" on the party and state with study of "Anthology of Important Documents Since the Third Plenary Session" and "Selected Articles of Chen Yun."

CSO: 4005/1042

## NORTH REGION

### BEIJING'S DUAN JUNYI URGES STUDYING DENG WORKS

OW010631 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1538 GMT 28 Jul 83

[Excerpts] Beijing, 28 Jul (XINHUA)--At a recent work conference of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee, Duan Junyi, first secretary of the municipal party committee, pointed out: To study well the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," it is necessary to grasp the principle of seeking truth from facts, the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

At the conference, Duan Junyi made a report entitled "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth from Facts and Units as One to Build the Capital." He pointed out: The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" came into being in the course of the struggle of the whole party and the people across the land against the "gang of four" and in the effort to overcome erroneous "leftist" and rightist tendencies; it is a summing-up of our party's experience at a great turning point in history. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" upholds the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought and upholds and develops Mao Zedong Thought. It is a set of important documents on political theory in the new historical period and an important weapon for us to consolidate and build the party.

Duan Junyi said: In the latter period of the "great cultural revolution," when he found himself in a very difficult position, Comrade Deng Xiaoping practically and realistically set forth a series of tasks to straighten things out and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four," thus displaying exceedingly great political courage. In the 2 years after the "two whatevers" and in "taking class struggle as the key link." With unusual political courage and resourcefulness, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, despite adverse circumstances, was the first to smash the shackles of dogmatism and the personality cult and stressed the need to understand Mao Zedong Thought comprehensively and accurately. Taking a clear-cut stand, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the "two whatevers" did not conform to Marxism. He upheld the principle of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth, thus giving impetus to the whole party in discussing this principle and making an outstanding contribution to reestablishing the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee decided to shift the emphasis of the party's work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further and comprehensively expounded the party's ideological, political and organizational lives and stressed that our modernization drive must be guided by Marxism-Leninism-

Zedong Thought and proceed from China's actual conditions, and that we must build socialism with distinctive Chinese features. Seeking truth from facts is the essence of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping"; we must grasp this essence in studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping."

In his report, Duan Junyi stressed: To study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" well, we must do so according to Beijing Municipality's actual conditions. We should raise questions and analyze and solve them. He called on the vast numbers of cadres and party members to take the lead in studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" as well as the "Selected Manuscripts of Chen Yun" and the important articles and speeches of other standing committee members of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau. Through this study, they should firmly foster the concept of taking the whole situation into consideration, uphold the spirit of reform and pay great attention to building a high level of spiritual civilization while striving for a high level of material civilization. The party organizations at various levels should attach great importance to rectifying the way of thinking, improve leadership methods, raise work efficiency, overcome bureaucracy and unite as one to bring about a new situation in all fields of work according to the party Central Committee's four directives on the principles for the capital's construction.

CSO: 4005/1058

## NORTH REGION

### REFORM EFFECTED IN SYSTEM OF COLLEGE GRADUATE ASSIGNMENTS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 May 83 p 1

[Article: "Method of Open Solicitation of Employing Units Adopted for Job Assignments of Graduates in 12 Specialities in Beijing University and 9 Other Institutions of Higher Learning"]

[Text] On 14 May, the Ministry of Education issued a notice adopting the method of open solicitation of employing units for the job assignments of graduates (1983 summer graduates) in 12 specialities, including astrophysics, of 10 institutions of higher learning, including Beijing University, so that the school and the employing unit meet directly. This is an attempt to reform the system of job assignments for graduates.

Currently, when the State Planning Commission was formulating the plan for assigning 1983 graduates of institutions of higher learning, it discovered that only a few graduates in some specialities were required by the relevant ministries and commissions, or by the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. This would lead to the graduates in these specialities not being assigned jobs suited to their special training and they would be unable to make use of what they had learned. To solve this problem, the Ministry of Education decided to adopt the Method of matching supply to demand: Each employing unit and the relevant institution of higher learning is asked to make direct contacts so as to mutually understand the direction of the utilization of specialities and the requirements of society. Afterward, the school, based on the requirements plan put forward by the employing unit in agreement with its ministry or commission in charge, or the province, municipality, and autonomous region, puts forward suggestions for readjusting the original deployment plan, and with the Ministry of Education makes the necessary readjustments.

The 12 specialities at the 10 institutions of higher learning including Beijing University are listed below:

Beijing University--astrophysics and space physics; Nanjing University--astrophysics, astrometry, and celestial mathematics; Xiamen University--marine physics and marine chemistry; Shandong Oceanography College--marine physics;



Beijing Teachers University--astronomy; Tianjin University--laser technology, and semiconductor physics and devices; Nanjing Engineering College--gas and electric power generation devices, and electrical vacuum devices and technology; Central China Engineering College--laser technology, semiconductor physics and devices, and electrification and automation of ships and shipyards; South China Engineering College--electrical vacuum devices and technology, and semiconductor physics and devices; and Zhejiang University--electrical vacuum devices and technology.

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CSO: 4005/938

## NORTH REGION

### CONFERENCE ON JOB ARRANGEMENTS FOR GRADUATES

SK050402 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 83 p 1

[Excerpts] The provincial conference on job arrangements for graduates of graduate schools, universities, and secondary technical schools which was held recently in Taiyuan decided that agricultural, coal, electricity, chemical industrial, communications and transport, and scientific education departments are the key departments in placing graduates of universities and secondary technical schools of higher learning to strengthen teachers' contingents.

Participants in the conference held: In placing graduates, we should first guarantee the needs of the state's key projects. Our province's tasks of the construction of key large-scale coal mines, powerplants, railways, and coal chemical industrial projects will remain arduous for some time to come. Among the on-going 70 large- and medium-scale projects of the state, seven are located in Shanxi, and, among the 279 large- and medium-scale projects whose early-stage preparations have already begun, 19 are located in Shanxi. These projects are key projects of the state. Specific plans for distributing the graduates have been implemented to satisfy the needs of these projects for competent personnel. For example, 108 university graduates of this year have been placed at the Shanxi chemical fertilizer plant.

The conference decided: Most of this year's graduates of agricultural, forestry, medical, teachers' training, and other relevant departments should be distributed to towns of counties and rural areas to contribute to agricultural development and rural construction. Except for those placed at agricultural and forestry institutes, commune hospitals (public health stations and centers), and schools, some of the graduates who are distributed to rural areas may be placed in towns of counties and be organized to work for rural areas under contract. In principle, graduates of coal, power, chemical industry, and communications and transport departments should be placed at relevant units, and the needs of these units for graduates of other departments should also be satisfied as much as possible. As many as 1,525 graduates of universities and secondary technical schools of this year have been placed at coal enterprises.

In order to develop intellect capability, accelerate training of competent personnel and build the contingent of cadres, a group of graduates will be placed at party schools, colleges and universities, secondary technical schools, vocational schools, and radio, correspondence, and television schools. In

general, colleges should not select college graduates to serve as teachers, their teachers should be selected from university graduates. Secondary technical schools are not permitted to select graduates of secondary technical schools to serve as teachers. The teachers they need should be distributed to them from graduates of colleges and universities. Fifteen percent of the graduates of other specialized departments are to be placed at secondary technical schools, vocational schools and middle schools of industrial and mining enterprises. All the graduates of teachers' training colleges and secondary teachers' training schools should be distributed to the educational front. Graduates who are from mountainous areas and old revolutionary base areas should, in principle, be distributed to where they are from if their specialties are needed.

During the conference, Bai Qingcai, deputy provincial governor, and responsible comrades of the provincial planning commission, personnel bureau, and education department delivered speeches.

CSO: 4005/1058

NORTH REGION

FORUM DISCUSSES REVIEW OF MILITARY THEME LITERATURE

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO In Chinese 12 May 83 p 2

[Article: "Forum on Reviewing Military Theme Literature Held in Beijing"]

[Text] In order to promote the creation of literature on military themes and make literary comment further suit the present state of creation of military theme literature, the Military Theme Literature Committee of the China Writers Association invited over 30 reviewers and editors of newspapers and periodicals in and out of the military in the capital to hold a 3-day forum.

The forum unanimously agreed that in recent years there has been a gratifying breakthrough in the creation of military theme literature. A batch of representative works like "Garland at the Foot of the Mountain" and "Shooting the Dog Star" have been published, indicating a turning point in this literature, which is now developing with a stable, healthy momentum, and new experiences have been accumulated. Some comrades held that, after the national forum on creation of military theme literature last year, the writers further emancipated their minds and boldly looked squarely at contradictions. In their works, they have given free expression to contradictions, dug out the conflict of thinking and feeling in the deep recesses of their characters' hearts, and, in the conflict between sharp contradictions, revealed the nature and traits of their characters.

Some other comrades hold that military theme literature bears a special mission that no other thematic literature can be a substitute for, that is, to train and bring up a generation of new people who have absolute faith in the justness of our cause, who have the spirit of devoting their lives to this noble cause, and who scorn enemies and difficulties. Many comrades point out that, in a large number of excellent works represented by "Garland at the Foot of the Mountain," the images of the heroes are not those of heroes whose thoughts and feelings are purified and overanxious, but rather those of real characters who live in a rich world of the spirit and who are closely identified with the reader's feelings. Many comrades pointed out that the reviewers have the glorious mission of spurring a swift upsurge in the creation of military theme literature. Some comrades said that for many people the breakthrough in creation is a splendid eruption

in a certain era of what they have accumulated over a long period of time; and, following the required breakthrough in theory, the experiences of creation are elevated to the level of theory, which, conversely, guides the advance of creation. Writers and reviewers should be comrades in arms and bosom friends who fight side by side, and every great epoch needs theoreticians who start a style of writing for the new generation.

Some comrades maintained that the topics raised at the meeting--heroism, portrayal of the images of heroes in a peaceful era, military themes and humanitarianism, how to create epic works, the relationship between military theme literature and the building of the two civilizations, etc.--need to be summed up from a theoretical standpoint. To face well the situation, reviewers must both give their enthusiastic support and carry out sober analyses. They must see that although in the past several years in the creation of military theme literature very big achievements have been obtained, there are still not many works of top artistic quality. This is particularly true of novels. Our country's rich revolutionary armed struggle has not yet been fully reflected in literary creation; many works are fettered by old characters, old subjects, and old stories; and there have not yet appeared epic-type works that shake people's hearts. People attending the forum held that reviewers must make a point of studying young and middle-aged writers, for they are the future and hope of military theme literature. The reviewers can, together with the writers, sum up experiences and lessons.

This forum on reviewing military theme literature was chaired by Comrades Feng Mu [7458 3668], Li Ying [2621 3841], and Ge Luo [5514 3157]. More than 20 comrades, including Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038] and Hu Ke [5170 0668] made speeches at the forum.

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CS0: 4005/938

## NORTH REGION

### NEI MONGGOL GOVERNMENT STUDIES DENG'S WORKS

SK210342 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Jul 83

[Text] The regional people's government held a routine work conference on the afternoon of 19 July. Bearing in mind the actual situation in the region's organizational reform, the participants conscientiously studied the selected works of Deng Xiaoping and were determined to start with themselves in improving leadership workstyle and to turn the regional government into a streamlined and highly efficient leading body which maintains close ties with the masses and which is honest in performing its duties.

Chairman Bu He presided over the conference. After studying the work on reforming the party and the state leadership systems and other works, the participants, in view of the region's organizational reform, said: Encouraging results have been achieved in the region's party and government organizational reform. Readjustments of leading bodies of various leagues, cities, sections, and bureaus have been basically completed. A great number of outstanding young and middle-aged intellectuals have assumed leading posts. Members of the new leading bodies have stridden a big step forward in meeting the requirements of being revolutionary, younger, better educated, and more professionally competent.

After they studied the work on reforming the party and the state leadership systems and other works and viewed their own situation, the participating young and middle-aged leading cadres said with deep feeling: We have been promoted to new leading bodies. This, however, does not mean that our ideological standards and work methods have met the needs of the four modernizations. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that some of the current specific systems of the party and state still have many drawbacks which impair, sometimes seriously, the development of the superiority of the socialist system and which, if not earnestly corrected, will create difficulty for us in our efforts to meet the urgent needs of the four modernizations and will separate us from the masses to a serious extent. Therefore, new leading bodies should go deep into the reality of life to conduct investigations and study and to ascertain new situations and solve new problems. They should attach importance to studying not only political theories, principles, and policies but also scientific and technical knowledge.

The participants pledged to conscientiously conduct the reform of the economic system and the next step of the government organizational reform with new ideas, workstyle, and spirit so as to justify the great trust placed in them by the party and the people.

They also studied Comrade Deng Xiaoping's works on overcoming bureaucracy. They held: Comrade Deng Xiaoping's brilliant exposition is significant in guiding the next step of the government organizational reform. While making proper arrangements for the organs at the section level and successfully installing the leading bodies at this level, we should gradually establish and improve the personal responsibility system at the organs so that responsibilities and duties are clearly defined, rewards and punishments are strictly meted out, meetings are simplified, and documents are reduced, thus, government organs will truly become streamlined and highly efficient work departments.

CSO: 4005/1058

NORTH REGION

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETS

SK190424 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 18 Jul 83

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Sixth Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional People's Congress held its second meeting this morning in Hohhot. Major items on the agenda of the meeting were to hear a report on the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth NPC, to relay the guidelines of the first Standing Committee meeting of the Sixth NPC, to discuss the draft of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional Grassland management regulations to be implemented on a trial basis, to discuss the opinions submitted by the general office of the people's congress standing committee on handling the motions assigned by the presidium of the first session of the Sixth Regional People's Congress and to decide on personnel changes.

Ba-tu-ba-gen, chairman of the regional people's congress standing committee, presided over the plenary session held on the morning of 18 July and delivered a report on the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth NPC and the first Standing Committee meeting of the Sixth NPC.

Beginning this afternoon, the meeting held group discussions and study.

Attending the meeting were Li Wen, Hao Xiushan, Zhou Beifeng, Se-yin-ba-ya-er, E-qi-er-hu-ya-ke-tu, and Hu Zhongda, vice chairmen of the regional people's congress standing committee. Attending as observers were Bai Junqing, vice chairman of the region; (Yang Dalai), president of the regional higher people's court; (Zhang Hesong), responsible person of the regional people's procuratorate; and responsible comrades of the regional agricultural, animal husbandry and fishery bureau, the organs of the regional people's congress standing committee, and of the standing committees of 14 banner people's congresses.

CSO: 4005/1058



## NORTH REGION

### NEI MONGGOL ENDS PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING

SK220821 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Jul 83

[Text] Having successfully completed all items on the agenda of the meeting, the second Standing Committee of the Sixth Regional People's Congress ended in Hohhot this afternoon. During the session, participants listened to Chairman Ba-tu-ba-gen's report on the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth NPC and the first Standing Committee meeting of the Sixth NPC, and conducted conscientious study and discussions in line with reality.

Participants held: All localities in the region should further implement the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth NPC in line with arrangements of the regional CPC committee and attend to economic construction, organizational reform and to various other items of work. People's Congress Standing Committees in all banners, counties, cities and suburban districts should regard the implementation of the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth NPC as a central task and attend to it.

Through full discussions, the meeting adopted the resolution on regulations governing the Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional Grassland management which will be implemented on a trial basis, and heard an explanation made by Bai Junqing, vice chairman of the region, on the draft of these regulations. The regulations on the Nei Monggol Regional Grassland management to be implemented on a trial basis consist of: The general principles; the ownership and the right to use grassland; the management, protection, utilization and construction of grassland; the organs in charge of grassland; the rewards and punishments; and the appendix--six chapters and 35 articles in all. These regulations will be published and implemented on a trial basis by the regional people's congress standing committee.

The meeting examined and approved the opinions submitted by the general office of the regional people's congress standing committee on handling the six motions assigned by the first session of the Sixth Regional People's Congress; examined and approved the opinion and the situation on extending the custody period. The meeting also adopted a decision on allowing Wubai City to change the staffing of the city people's congress ahead of schedule and a decision on relevant personnel changes.

Ba-tu-ba-gen, chairman of the regional people's congress standing committee, presided over the plenary session. Attending the meeting were Li Wen, Hao Xiushan, Zhou Beifeng, Se-yin-ba-ya-er, E-qi-er-hu-ya-ke-tu, and Hu Zhongda, vice chairmen of the regional people's congress standing committee. Attending as observers were Bai Junqing, vice chairman of the region; (Yang Dalai), president of the regional higher people's court; (Zhang Hesong), deputy procurator of the regional people's procuratorate; responsible comrades of the regional agricultural, animal husbandry and fisheries bureau and the organs of the regional people's congress standing committee; and responsible comrade of the standing committee of the Oroqen Autonomous Banner People's Congress and of 13 other banner people's congress standing committees.

CSO: 4005/1058

NORTH REGION

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SESSION ENDS 11 JULY

SK020724 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] The second standing committee session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress concluded on the afternoon of 11 July after a 5-day session.

The session adopted the "Resolution on Conscientiously Studying and Implementing the Guidelines of the First Session of the Sixth NPC" delivered by the standing committee of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress (the full text will be disseminated separately); adopted the provisional regulations on the management and supply of gas to Taiyuan City; and adopted some personnel changes.

A total of 44 persons, including chairman, vice chairman and members, attended yesterday's session. Vice Chairman Ma Guishu presided over the session. After adopting various resolutions, Ma Guishu pointed out in his speech that the reports on implementing the new constitution delivered to the session by the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate, and the provincial public security department reflected our province's practical situation and that all the committee members unanimously agreed to these reports. The participants called on various public security organs, procuratorial organs, and people's courts to handle affairs strictly according to law, support one another, closely cooperate with one another, strengthen the comprehensive tackling of problems, and make greater efforts to effect a turn for the better in social order and public security and to ensure a smooth progress of the four modernizations.

CS0: 4005/1058

NORTH REGION

GAO YANG VISITS VARIOUS HEBEI PREFECTURES

OW050121 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0759 GMT 4 Aug 83

[By reporters Fang Chen and Jiang Shan]

[Excerpts] Shijiazhuang, 4 Aug (XINHUA)--Since the beginning of this year, the standing committee members of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee have further improved their leading method and style of work. They do not issue unnecessary documents, nor do they hold unnecessary meetings. As a result, they have more time to conduct investigations and study in order to know the general situation and important issues.

Since the beginning of the year, Gao Yang, first secretary of the Hebei provincial party committee, has visited Langfang, Baoding, Shijiazhuang, Hengshui and Canzhou Prefectures, familiarized himself with the general situation and studied certain specific questions there.

To dare to take responsibility, deal with tough problems and set the party style right is one of the major efforts made by the Hebei provincial party committee to improve its leading method and working style. Malpractices in housing construction and housing allocation among various organs directly under the provincial party committee and the provincial government pose a long-standing, big and difficult problem. In April and May, the provincial party committee successively held three meetings of leading party cadres of those organs. At those meetings, Gao Yang and Xing Chongzhi called on the No 1 and No 2 leaders of the party organizations of those units to take a hand in correcting malpractices in housing construction and housing allocation.

CSO: 4005/1058

NORTH REGION

HEBEI'S GAO YANG ON BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

OW040018 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1130 GMT 31 Jul 83

[By reporters Wang Qin, Xue Mantang]

[Excerpts] Shijiazhuang, 31 Jul (XINHUA)--"Activities of building spiritual civilization between army and people should develop in breadth and depth." This was stated by Gao Yang, first secretary of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee yesterday morning, while addressing a meeting jointly sponsored by party, government and military organizations in Hebei to mark the 1 August Army Day.

Gao Yang pointed out that these activities, which were initiated by the PLA units in Baoding and promoted by the Baoding Prefectural party committee, have received great attention from the party Central Committee and its military commission. He said: These activities have given impetus to the improvement in the standards of social conduct at all basic-level units in Hebei, promoted closer army-government and army-people relations, and opened a new path for strengthening the armed forces, improving their quality and training dual-purpose personnel in the armed forces.

To further enhance the building of civilization with socialist spirit between army and people, Gao Yang put forward the following requirements:

1. The provincial party committee, the provincial military district and the party committees of all PLA units stationed in Hebei must work together to strengthen their leadership over such activities. They should also meet every 6 months to exchange opinions and experiences, and study whatever problems need to be resolved.
2. Party committees of the localities must pay attention to promoting the concurrent building of material and spiritual civilizations.
3. Activities for building spiritual civilization must develop in breadth and depth between the army and the people. Localities, where such activities have yet to begin, should start gradually in a few diverse areas, from the countryside to the cities and from schools to all neighborhoods.

4. Keep summing up experiences and popularizing new experiences. In certain provinces and cities, the building of a spiritual civilization has become a project between cadres and the masses, between factories and nearby communities, and between factories and their adjacent countryside. Such new experiences of fraternal provinces and municipalities should be learned, so that the activities of building a spiritual civilization can develop in all cities and towns in Hebei in a down-to-earth manner.

CSO: 4005/1058

NORTH REGION

HEBEI'S GAO YANG URGES PEOPLE TO LOVE PROVINCE

OW020432 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0831 GMT 31 Jul 83

[By correspondent Tan Feng]

[Excerpts] Shijiazhuang, 31 July (XINHUA)--The Hebei People's Broadcasting Station and the Hebei Television Station recently held a televised briefing entitled "Beloved Hebei" for responsible persons of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee, the provincial people's congress standing committee, the provincial people's government and the provincial CPPCC Committee. A series of films entitled "Beloved Hebei" was shown at the briefing.

These films were produced by the Hebei People's Broadcasting station and the Hebei Television Station to make patriotic propaganda among the masses.

After attending the briefing, Bao Yang, first secretary of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee, spoke highly of such patriotic propaganda. He said: The provincial party committee has called on the Hebei people to love their native places, Hebei and the motherland, to brace up, to revitalize Hebei and to contribute to the four modernizations. Cadres at various levels in Hebei should carry forward their militant spirit, strengthen their sense of discipline and raise their work efficiency. It is necessary to carry out activities among the people of the province to learn from, and catch up with, advanced elements and to compete with one another in being advanced elements. Continuous efforts should be made to build the socialist material and spiritual civilization in the province.

CS0: 4005/1058

NORTH REGION

PENG ZHEN, SENDS WREATH TO MOURN SHANXI OFFICIAL

OW010355 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1304 GMT 30 Jul 83

[Text] Taiyuan, 30 Jul (XINHUA)--A memorial service for Comrade Shi Jiyan, an outstanding CPC member, former standing committee member of the Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee and former vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Shanxi Provincial People's Congress, was held at Taiyuan's Shuantashi [Double Tower Shrine] Cemetery of Revolutionaries on the morning of 30 July.

Wreaths were received from Peng Zhen, Bo Yibo, Huang Kecheng, Cheng Zihua and leading organs of Shanxi.

The memorial service was officiated over by Li Ligong, secretary of the Shanxi provincial party committee. Ruan Bosheng, chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanxi Provincial People's Congress, delivered the condolence speech.

Comrade Shi Jiyan died of illness on 21 July. Born in 1910, he joined the revolutionary ranks in 1935, after graduation from the College of Education of Shanxi University, and he became a CPC member in 1937. Under the leadership of the party, he worked for many years as a journalist and as a vice chairman of the Shanxi Provincial Revolutionary Committee, and made great contributions to the party's journalistic, propaganda, cultural and educational work.

Leading members of Shanxi, who also attended the memorial service, were Wang Senhao, Wu Guangtang and Luo Guibo.

CSO: 4005/1058



## NORTH REGION

### BRIEFS

PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS--In line with the submission by the (Yang Dalai), president of the regional higher people's court, the Second Standing Committee meeting of the Sixth Regional People's Congress appointed (Zhao Jianxin) as deputy president of the regional higher people's court and relieved him of his post as deputy bureau director [Fu Ju Zhang] of the regional higher people's court. In line with the submission of (Wang Mingzhong), chief procurator of the regional people's procuratorate, the Second Standing Committee meeting of the Sixth Regional People's Congress appointed (Zhang Hesong), (Wu-er-cha-tu), Mongolian, and (Zheng Liqun) as deputy procurators of the regional people's procuratorate. [Text] [SK220837 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Jul 83]

CONGRESS DECIDES PERSONNEL APPOINTMENTS--In line with the submission by Bu He, chairman of the region, the Second Standing Committee of the Sixth Regional People's Congress decided on some personnel appointments. (Ha Lin), Mongolian Nationality, is appointed as director of the Regional Forestry Department; (Li Jianquo) is appointed as director of the Regional Metallurgical Industrial Department; (Zhao Jinxiu) is appointed as director of the Regional Cultural Department; (Duo Fuchang) is appointed as director of the Regional Educational Department; (Lin Fuyu), female and Mongolian Nationality, is appointed as director of the Regional Public Health Department; (Xu Wenxiang), Mongolian Nationality, is appointed as director of the Regional Physical Culture and Sports Commission; (Li Zhizhuang) is appointed as director of the Regional Statistical Bureau; and (Duan Yong) is appointed as director of the Regional Standardization and Meteorology Bureau. [Text] [SK220824 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Jul 83]

CSO: 4005/1058

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### SHANDONG MILITARY DISTRICT REFORMS MILITIA ARTILLERY TRAINING

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Fu Ligong [0265 4539 0501] and Zhou Deyun [6650 1795 0061]

[Text] The Shandong Military District has obtained preliminary results in its bold reforms of militia artillery training. During the assessment of the entire provincial militia in mortar firing with live rounds organized in March, everyone obtained excellent results.

For the past several years the training of the artillery units of the Shandong militia always used the method of dispersed groups training by themselves, wasting time and energy without effectively improving the military quality of the militia artillery. While the entire army was reforming political and military training, the provincial military district vigorously promoted the work of innovation. First, they changed from dispersed training to concentrated training, employing two years' worth of training time and bringing together the militia participating in exercises at training locations for unified training. Second, they thoroughly changed the "complete package" training method used in the past and adhered to implementation of responsibility for particular jobs and step-by-step detailed training. The provincial military district, sub-districts and militia departments divided jobs with individual responsibility and solidly organized training. Third, they changed "instruction by amateurs" to "instruction by professionals"; the mission of training the militia artillery has been assumed by drill personnel from the provincial military district and sub-districts, the level of drill personnel has been improved, and the development of militia artillery training has been vigorously promoted. The provincial military district party committee and militia departments at all levels have also insistently changed work styles, personally overseeing training at the scene, conscientiously investigating and researching, and specifically solving problems in training. In March the provincial military district organized 10 work groups which went to every training location in the province to comprehensively carry out assessments of artillery training, and on the average the entire province obtained excellent results in the 60mm and 82mm mortar.

9810

CSO: 4005/875

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### NEWLY ESTABLISHED ARMED POLICE FORCE LAUDED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO in Chinese May 83 p 1

[Article by Li Xunzhou [2621 6064 5297]]

[Text] The newly organized Chinese People's Armed Police Force is an important armed force of the party and nation, the same as the People's Liberation Army. Its soldiers are the sons and daughters of the people. Organizing this new type of people's armed force is a major reform in the national armed forces system and has great significance in consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship, protecting the party and national security, and maintaining social order.

The cadres and soldiers of the Chinese People's Armed Police Force shoulder the mission of internal defense with a high sense of political responsibility; day and night guarding party and government organs, foreign embassies and consulates; defending important units and important aims of the nation, always prepared to face up to all kinds of tense situations, maintaining public security and order.

The officers and men of the Chinese People's Armed Police shoulder the mission of frontier defense, vigilantly safeguarding the security of the border areas of the motherland, uniting the masses, strengthening security control to guard against and smash enemy spies scheming to infiltrate our country and smashing the sabotage activities of small groups of armed enemy agents. At open ports they carry out frontier defense inspections and oversee the protection of people and transportation vehicles entering and leaving the country.

The Chinese People's Armed Police also shoulder the mission of fire protection. The cadres and soldiers who shoulder this mission undergo strict training at ordinary times, mastering fire fighting skills, spreading fire prevention knowledge deeply into all households, and establishing safety policies. As soon as a fire occurs they speed to the scene and extinguish it, protecting the lives and property of the people and the nation.

The various units belonging to the Chinese People's Armed Police, under the leadership of various level party committees, public security organs and their own higher authorities, undertake the mission of safeguarding public security.

On the defense lines of the long border and coastline they maintain the highest vigilance, safeguarding the sovereignty and dignity of the motherland. They are the watchful eyes and faithful guards of the motherland. In their post of internal defense they are faithful to their duty; they are a strong pillar for protecting public order. On the scene of a fire they disregard their own lives, bravely struggling to overcome calamities. They are a dependable force for protecting the people. A group of progressive model figures have emerged from their midst and the following are just their outstanding representatives.

Liang Jianli [2733 1696 4539], an individual of the highest merit who bravely sacrificed his life while struggling with armed violent criminals; Li Junchai [2621 0193 6865], an heroic example and model of love for the people, who participated altogether in more than 30 struggles to provide disaster relief rescuing more than 110 people and six endangered boats; and Shao Yuqiao [6730 5940 2890], a People's policeman in the style of Lei Feng, who has battled more than 70 fires.

Under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress the broad ranks of officers and men of the Chinese People's Armed Police are working hard to build an armed police force faithful to the party and the people, which has a deep love for the socialist motherland, that is resolutely brave, strictly disciplined, well-trained and proficient in their profession. They have strengthened solidarity and close cooperation with the People's Liberation Army, and are determined to make even greater contributions to protecting the smooth progress of building the four modernizations.

9810

CSO: 4005/875

CHINA POST EDITORIAL ON CAAC HIJACKERS' TRIAL

OW042052 Taipei CNA in English 1438 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Taipei, 4 Aug (CNA)--Following is an editorial on the second court hearing of Trident Six carried by the English daily, CHINA POST, of 4 August.

The second court hearing of the Trident Six went off as scheduled without untoward incident. However, the prosecutor's demands for harsh sentences for them have left us with a sense of deep concern for their fate.

As five of the six freedom-seekers testified during the hearing, their sole purpose was to seek freedom and get to the Republic of China, their imprisonment by the ROK authorities was without justification. Cho Chang-jen, leader of the six, declared that "only the Chinese communists and their friends would consider us guilty of committing a crime."

Even the prosecutor that their objective of commandeering the plane was to seek freedom to reach the Republic of China and they do not appear to be hijackers or terrorists. But the laws they were alleged to have violated were hotly contested by the defense lawyers who were present in force to help the defenders.

As to the defenders' shooting of two of the crewmen, the Korean army medical officers also pointed out that the shooting was in self-defense and the wounds inflicted on the crewmen were not fatal. Nor was the shooting aimed at killing the crewmen.

The Trident Six voiced their innocence as well as protests against being imprisoned by the ROK authorities upon landing in the Republic of Korea. Cho told the court that all the democratic nations of the world should support and protect the democratic and freedom-loving people. A real anti-communist nation, he said, should support and protect anti-communist people. Only in this way can that nation prove itself to be a real anti-communist nation. Cho then urged the ROK authorities to realize that both the Republic of China and the Republic of Korea are divided nations and only with the unification of the Chinese mainland by the Republic of China may there be hope for the reunification of Korea. He also urged the ROK authorities not to forget the bitter lessons of the 1950's when the Chinese communists invaded South Korea en masse.

Another freedom-seeker Wu Yun-fei told the court that as this was the second appearance before the court, he was deeply hurt in confronting the irony of an anti-communist nation prosecuting anti-communist freedom seekers.

Their testimonies have indeed provided food for thought for the ROK authorities to ponder whether in their insistence on prosecuting the Trident Six in accordance with Korean law, they have compromised their very anti-communist stand for which they have won worldwide respect.

Moreover, as the defense lawyers have pointed out in their defense, the alleged crimes of hijacking and shooting the crewmen were committed not in the ROK air space but in the Chinese mainland air space. Therefore, no Korean laws are applicable to the alleged crimes, committed outside the ROK jurisdiction. Moreover, the plane landed in the U.S. military air base as a result of a ROK plane's guidance thereby granting it permission to land without infringing on Korean navigation law.

The defense lawyers brief also refuted many other accusations levelled by the prosecutor. The detailed brief should be carefully studied by the ROK authorities. The defense lawyers specifically cited the late President Chiang Kai-shek's refusal to hand over Korean revolutionary leader King Chiu to the Japanese authorities as an example of adequate protection to those seeking political asylum.

The defense lawyers and the people of the Republic of China were, however, shocked to learn of the harsh punishments demanded by the prosecutor for the freedom-seekers. They are far severer than those sentences imposed by other nations in dealing with hijacking cases. While we do not wish to interfere in the ROK's consideration of this all-important case or its judicial proceedings, we have every right to point out the mis-application of pertinent laws in this case as cited by the ROK prosecutor and the over-zealousness on his part in demanding harsh punishment against the freedom seekers.

The Trident Six have been imprisoned for 2 months without bail which should not have been denied. They have been deprived of freedom which they sought at the risk of their lives. It is high time for the ROK authorities to cease their dramatic showing of their "impartiality" in violation of their anti-communist stand and their professed friendship for the Republic of China.

CSO: 4000/227

TAIPEI RADIO JUSTIFIES TAIWAN'S NEED FOR U.S. ARMS

OW040205 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 3 Aug 83

[Station commentary]

[Text] Yu Chiu-li, the top political commissar of Red China, said, in an article last week, that its army, the largest in the world, is incapable of fighting a better-equipped force even if it modernizes its weapons over the next several years. He made the admission by way of calling for a shake-up of the said army to improve its fighting capability and political thinking. Yu's assessment of the Communist People's Liberation Army surprises nobody. The PLA's weaknesses were wholly exposed when Peking tried to teach Vietnam a lesson in 1979. According to Western military experts, Red China's military hardware is 15 to 20 years behind the West. Added to the backwardness of its weaponry is the low quality of the PLA officers' corps and its soldiers, who are drawn from semi-illiterate peasants. The top commanders of the PLA are mostly of peasant stock. Their strategic concept remains that of people's war, featuring human horde tactics and rice-plus-rifle thinking.

To modernize this huge force would take probably a couple of decades, not a few years, and hundreds of billions of dollars. Given the state of Red China's economy, one cannot help doubting whether the PLA can become an effective fighting force as compared with those of the superpowers in the first place. This being the case, it is obviously a mistake for the United States to attach much importance to the PLA as a counterbalance against the Soviet-led military juggernaut, nor is it realistic to suppose that the PLA can be quickly modernized with U.S. help. For one thing, the United States will bankrupt itself in such an undertaking. For another, there is no guarantee that the revitalized PLA may turn its guns on its benefactor instead of the Soviet Union. Though Red China is in no position to tip the balance of power in the East-West confrontation, it would be dangerous to assume that the PLA is nothing but a paper tiger. For all its ineffectiveness as a modern fighting force, the PLA has sufficient clout to bully its weaker neighbors. It could overwhelm its enemy by sheer numbers, as was dramatically demonstrated in the Korean War.

The PLA may be backward in weaponry by Western standards; it is in possession of nuclear arms and intercontinental missiles. Latest reports indicate Peking has already launched its first nuclear submarine with ballistic missiles and are still building more. No other Asian countries, including Vietnam, could

withstand communist China's aggression over a protracted period, for the simple fact that no other countries in the region have the nuclear deterrent.

No other country is threatened more than the Republic of China, because Peking is determined to subjugate the free Province of Taiwan, so as to remove the beacon of hope to the enslaved Chinese people on the mainland. It is because of this concern that has prompted the Republic of China to request for more sophisticated weapons from the United States for its self-defense. The need has become even more acute as the United States is preparing to transfer to Peking technology of dual uses.

CSO: 4000/227



TAIWAN COMMENTARY EXAMINES PRC 'ECONOMIC WOES'

OW040331 Taipei CNA in English 0231 GMT 4 Aug 83

[Text] Taipei, 4 Aug (CNA)--The Voice of Free China, on its English-language broadcast Thursday aired the following commentary on "Peiping's Economic Woes."

Maj Gen Schyler Bissell, deputy director of the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency, said recently that Red China is unlikely to meet its economic objective of quadrupling its gross national product by the year 2000.

The general told a congressional panel that to meet even the limited goal of its current 5-year economic plan, Red China is facing "formidable problems" of inflation, unemployment, energy shortages, budget deficits and trade barriers.

In past 30-odd years, Peiping has been in the habit of launching "big push" or "big leap forward" drive every few years. The most notable of these is Mao Tse-tung's "Big Leap Forward" in 1958, which plunged the mainland economy into an abyss.

But the Chinese communists never learned their lessons. Hua Kuo-feng began his own "Big Leap Forward" in 1978, which led to the protracted period of "Readjustment, Renovation and Consolidation."

The Tengist leadership has not shown itself to be any wiser. Although the objective of quadrupling the mainland economy by the end of this century is more modest, it is still beyond the reach of the Peiping regime.

Since Hu Yao-pang proclaimed the economic objective last year, there has been a drastic increase of investment in heavy industries and a mushrooming of small processing factories with little equipment and technology. The phenomenon not only has rendered Peiping's economic readjustment ineffective but also threatens to upset its 5-year economic plan.

Under Red China's readjustment plan, investment for steel, machinery and petrochemical industries was slashed during 1979-81 with a view to diverting more agriculture.

Because of the local authorities' eagerness to reach the economic goal announced by the party general secretary, all the talk about "readjustment"

has been forgotten. As a result, output of the heavy industries last year rose by 9 percent as compared with the project 1 percent, while output of the light industries rose by only 5.5 percent as compared with the targeted 7 percent. The trend continued in the first 5 months of 1983.

If the trend goes unchecked, Red China's economic development would return to square one, and there would be need for another "economic readjustment."

In the past, Peiping's economic adventurism could be checked because the party itself took the initiative and was more or less in command of the situation.

Now things are different. In the first place, the over-investment in the heavy industries was done by local authorities and enterprises in defiance of central planning. For another, the party is no longer able to command absolute obedience because of the confidence crisis.

The Tengists today no longer have the "gang of four" or the "whateverists" to blame for their economic troubles. Their real problem is the conflicting nature of their over ambitious objective.

If the output of the heavy industries cannot be drastically raised through large investment, there couldn't be any quadrupling of the economy by the century's end. On the other hand, if the light industries are not quickly expanded, there would not be enough job openings for the 20 million or so youths joining the labor market annually.

Red China simply does not have enough resources to meet the conflicting but essential claims, let alone the fact that its corrupt and unwieldy political system excludes any possibility of efficient management of what is available.

CSO: 4000/227

## BRIEFS

PARTIAL ELECTIONS SLATED--Taipei, 4 Aug (CNA)--The partial election for additional members of the Legislative Yuan will be held Saturday, 3 December this year, the central election committee announced Wednesday. The terms of the incumbent legislators elected in 1980 will expire on 31 January next year, and the new election as provided in article 43 of the Election Law should take place not less than 10 days prior to the expiry date and the announcement for the election should be made 40 days before that date, a spokesman for the committee said. Partial elections have been held every 3 years since the first one in 1969 to fill seats representing Taiwan and parts of other provinces and special municipalities such as Taipei and Kaohsiung. Chu Pei-chun, secretary general of the election committee, said the office to administer the routine election work will begin its function on 20 August, continuing for a period of 5 months until 19 January next year. [Text] [OW040403 Taipei CNA in English 0250 GMT 4 Aug 83]

DEFENSE MINISTER TO VISIT PARAGUAY--Taipei, 30 July (CNA)--Defense Minister Sung Chang-Chih, in his capacity as special envoy of the Republic of China, will leave for the Republic of Paraguay in early August to attend the inauguration of President Alfredo Stroessner on 15 August. Sung will be accompanied by Wang Meng-hsien, ambassador of the Republic of China to Paraguay, Ou Hung-Lien, director of the Department of Central and South America, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ting Ta-shan, chief of the protocol department, Ministry of National Defense. After attending the presidential inauguration, Minister Sung will visit other friendly countries in Latin America. [Text] [OW300457 Taipei CNA in English 0246 GMT 30 Jul 83]

GOODWILL GROUP LEAVES--Bogota, 28 July (CNA)--James Soong, director general of the Government Information Office [GIO] of the Republic of China Thursday left Bogota, Colombia, ending an 8-day trip to five Latin American countries in an effort to strengthen relations between ROC and these countries. Soong, accompanied by Raymond Tsai, deputy director general of the Government Information Office, and Liu Pei, secretary of the GIO's International Department, had visited Honduras, Panama, Ecuador, Venezuela and Colombia. [Text] [OW291429 Taipei CNA in English 1352 GMT 29 Jul 83]

CSO: 4000/227

GUANGXI CONTINUES TO ELIMINATE LEFTIST INFLUENCE

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 23 Jun 83 p 5

[Article: "Guangxi Continues to Eliminate Leftist Influence, Five Major Mishandled Cases Are Rehabilitated, Former Regional CPC Committee is Criticized For Carrying Out Hua Guofeng's Line"]

[Text] Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region's Party Committee recently convened a work conference on handling problems left over from the Cultural Revolution. At the conference, it was pointed out that the problems of lacking a correct line and the "three types of people" [1. Those who are followers of the "gang of four." 2. Those who are seriously factionalist in their ideas. 3. Those who engaged in beating, smashing and looting during the CR.] exercising control during the Cultural Revolution were more serious in Guangxi than in other parts of the state. Aiming at these problems, some concrete policies were formulated at the conference for tackling the problems left over from the Cultural Revolution. Conferees unanimously supported the regional CPC committee's decision on rehabilitating five mishandled cases.

Zhou Yiefeng [0719 0001 1496], chairman of the Guangxi work team of the reform guiding team of the Central Committee, stressed at the conference that the central authorities fully understand the situation in Guangxi, and are determined to solve the problems to the very end.

The conferees listed a host of facts, stating that the Cultural Revolution in Guangxi was, like the national Cultural Revolution, just an internal chaos. From the regional party committee, the "three support's and two military's" leading organization, the regional revolution-planning team and the regional revolutionary committee in the very beginning, to the regional party committee formed afterwards, all of them carried out extreme leftist policies commonly practiced during the Cultural Revolution. Some problems in Guangxi, such as severe violation of the law and discipline and the "three types of people" being in power, were more serious than many other parts of the state. Therefore, Guangxi did not have a "correct line" during the Cultural Revolution. In the several years after the destruction of the gang of four, the former regional party committee carried out Hua Guofeng's series of wrong lines, extensively promoting the viewpoint of "two whatevers." This further hindered Guangxi in bringing order out of chaos and created serious consequences.

It was pointed out at the conference that the viewpoint of some principal leading members of the former regional party committee, that a "correct line" was practiced during the Cultural Revolution, not only is theoretically absurd, but disastrous in practice also.

The conferees unanimously support the regional party committee's decision and circular of rehabilitating the five mishandled cases, including "Rehabilitation decision on the issue of Guangxi underground parties being oppressed and investigated," "Rehabilitation decision on the issue of the so-called regionalism and local nationality chauvinism," and "Rehabilitation decision on the issue of Wu Xiu Group." The influence of these five mishandled cases is fairly great and extensive. Their thorough rehabilitation has drawn popular support.

Guangxi's present situation was analyzed at the conference. It is agreed that a situation has been initially opened, but there is still great obstruction. Therefore, concrete policies were formulated at the conference for tackling problems left over from the Cultural Revolution. Effective measures were to be carried out immediately and thoroughly.

12365

CSO: 4005/1005

REGULAR CADRE TRAINING EMPHASIZED IN ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 5 July 83 p 5

[Article: "Simplification of Administrative Structure and Cadre Training Will Be Carried Out At The Same Time, The CPC Will Reform Various Organizations, and A Large Number of Cadres Will Be Trained"]

[Text] The CPC's Central Committee has already set forth concrete requirements regarding the age and educational level of cadres working at party and government organizations at all levels. But judging from the reorganization of current leading group in various party and government organizations at the provincial, prefectural and municipal levels, the problems of old age and low educational level still exist. In addition, there are still too many administrative bodies in various departments. Therefore, in organizational reform, simplification of administrative structure and cadre training are particularly emphasized to be carried out at the same time, and a large number of cadres with college level education, specialists and experts will be conscientiously selected to join the leading groups at all levels.

Statistics show that currently there are about 21 million cadres in China; 8.2 million of them have a below junior middle school educational level and more than 6 million of this group are below 50 years of age. These cadres have a low educational level and little professional knowledge. Although they can supervise production and manage business, they do not understand modern natural science or advanced management. If this fairly large number of cadres are allowed to continue their work in their own way, not only will their work show no achievement, even they themselves will feel vexed. Therefore, regular training is a must for these cadres.

The department concerned pointed out that at present, many regions and units carry out organizational reform only by reducing the number of leading group personnel, without energetically arranging regular cadre training. They have grasped only one side, instead of completely conforming to the demand of the CPC's Central Committee concerning organizational reform. Organizational reform must closely combine the simplification of administrative structure with cadre training and carry these out at the same time. The CPC's central authorities require that leading cadres at all levels must fully understand that this regular training of cadres, a call for learning anew, is a big issue

for the 20 million party members and cadres. This is not minor training, but regular training which aims at raising the cadres' educational level and professional knowledge. This is also not a measure to sweep aside illiterates, or a mere educational study, but an effort to considerably raise educational, scientific and theoretical levels in varying degrees.

The department concerned thinks that after regular training, many leading cadres of various fields at various central and local levels will strive to study culture and science and, among the several million young cadres who have relatively lower educational levels, many talented personnel will emerge.

12365

CSO: 4005/1004

HEBEI PARTY JOURNAL REPORTS INCORRECT PARTY WORK STYLE

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 7 July 83 p 1

[Article: Seriously Incorrect Style Exists in The CPC, and Comprehensive Party Rectification Has Begun; Party Journal Lists 11 Manifestations."]

[Text] As serious ideological problems, work style problems and organizational problems still exist within the CPC, there is much to be desired in party work style. At present, party committees of various provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and military regions have put the issue of a comprehensive party rectification on their agenda and have begun ideological mobilization.

An article in the recently published 6th issue of the Hebei provincial party journal, "Communist Party Members," points out that the three major problems within the CPC and the incorrect party work style have been manifested by 11 behaviors, which can be summarized as: liberalism in politics, extreme individualism in ideology, factionalism in organization, and bureaucracy in work style. The 11 behaviors are as follows:

- (1) Persisting in extreme leftist ideology or liberal bourgeoisie ideology, and not maintaining political unanimity with the CPC's central authorities. Some have boycotted the line, principles, policies and major measures carried out after the third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and oppose the policies of bringing order out of chaos. Some members spread resentful words aimed at opposing the four principles. Admiring the freedom and democracy of capitalism, they echo and collude with the people who oppose the four basic principles by demanding bourgeoisie liberalism.
- (2) Doubting Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Their belief in communism has been shaken and they spread the idea that communism is vague, distant and uncertain.
- (3) Not paying attention to the well-being of the state or the people, but only caring for one's own personal advantages.
- (4) Not devoting oneself to serving the people, but putting one's own personal interest as a priority. All they want are light work and good pay.



For personal fame, high position, benefits and money, they neglect policies and are willing to do anything by hook or by crook.

(5) Paying no respect to the organizations nor the disciplines, but believing in nihilism. They do not obey party decisions, refuse to carry out party policies, do not finish the tasks assigned by the Party, do not participate in the Party's organizational activities, do not observe the party discipline and adopt a careless and sloppy work style.

12365

CSO: 4005/1004

WORK TEAM SENT TO GUANGDONG TO ELIMINATE REFORM OBSTRUCTION

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 15 Jul 83 p 6

[Article: "The Central Committee Sends Work Team To Guangdong, Where Reform Obstruction is Encountered, Xi Zhongxun Regrets Having Done Three Wrongs When Stationed in Guangdong"]

[Text] The organizational reform of Guangdong's party and government organizations and the reorganization of their leading groups have encountered major obstacles, and their development is not smooth. Therefore, the Reform Guiding Team of the Central Committee recently sent a work team, stationed in Guangdong, for helping in eliminating obstacles and in selecting leading groups at all levels. From now on, leading cadres who have not been listed in the new leading group lists must withdraw without further notice. At present, work teams sent by the Central Committee are present in the 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions throughout the state except Beijing, Sichuan and Jilin.

Accordingly, three problems occur in the organizational reform of Guangdong Province's party and state organizations and the reorganization of leading groups. First, the average age of some leading group members in some units is too high. Some people even use various methods to lower their age. Second, through fraud and deception, some leading cadres exert influence to seek technological positions which are not in keeping with their actual experience. Third, there has been no great change in the new leading groups after reorganization. Only a few intellectuals were added to complete the task of reorganization.

In addition, some leading cadres resent being on the list for retirement or withdrawal. They stop work during the turnover period and thus affect administrative efficiency.

This situation is related with the factionalism formed during the Cultural Revolution. After being assigned as first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee in 1975, Wei Quoqing [7279 0948 3237] not only did not eradicate the major personnel of the factions formed during the Cultural Revolution, but even put some of them in office. In March 1978, Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 8113] received an order to take up the post of second secretary

of Guangdong Province's CPC committee. At that time, he was very eager to devote himself in bringing the province back into shape. But as Wei Guoqing was still in office, Xi did not have a chance to carry out his policies. Although the CPC's Central Committee later sent Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492], Gong Zirong [7895 1311 2837] and others to assist Xi Zhongxun, they were of no avail.

Accordingly, before the work team was sent to Guangdong by the Central Committee, Xi Zhongxun encouraged them to assist Ren Zhongyi [0117 0112 1138] in carrying out different levels of organizational reform, to continue eliminating the influence of extreme leftist ideas, to be firm in eliminating obstructions and to impose severe punishment on cadres who boycott the reforms or who are involved in economic criminal cases.

According to reliable sources, Xi Zhongxun told the work team "three regrets." First, when the Central Committee assigned him to be in charge of Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee's day-to-day work, he was asked whether or not he would like to be the first secretary. Being humble, he said that it was better for Wei Guoqing to have it as his concurrent post. Consequently, every important decision by the Provincial CPC Committee was put aside because Wei Guoqing stressed "steadiness and taking one's time before judging." Second, the Central Committee advised him to bring a few more assistants with him to Guangdong, but he only took Huang Jingbo [7806 7234 3134], resulting in many provincial committee decisions being decided but not practiced. Third, when some initial achievements were made, the Central Committee transferred him to Beijing. If he had insisted on staying at Guangdong for one more year, he could have created better conditions for Ren Zhongyi.

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PARTY RECTIFICATION SLACKENS IN HUNAN

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 7 Jul 83 p 5

[Article: "Slack Mood Appears in Hunan's Experimental Work on Party Rectification, Xiong Qingquan Stresses that Superficial Gestures Must Not Be Practiced"]

[Text] The Hunan Provincial CPC Committee recently convened a forum at Changsha for party committee members and responsible persons of the work groups of the units where experimental work on party rectification is carried out. Secretary of the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee, Xiong Qingquan [3574 3237 2164] stressed at the forum that everyone must fully understand the important significance of doing a good job in the experimental work on party rectification, and that persistent efforts, a good start and a good end, high standards and strict demand must be insisted upon. Nobody, he stressed, should be careless, casual, or do just superficial work, but everyone must be bold in facing confrontation.

HUNAN RIBAO reports that since late November last year, the eight units designated as experimental points for party rectification by Hunan province have, one after another, launched party rectification work. At present, the work of party member registration and election of leading groups have been basically completed in three points where development is faster, and the experiences from experimental work are being summed up. As for the other five points, some are comparing and inspecting, and some are testing and judging the personnel in the leading groups. However, the development of experimental work is not balanced; some people have developed a slack mood while some others are not bold enough to face confrontation in correcting wrong work styles.

Aiming at the existing problems, Xiong Qingquan urged cadres concerned to be bold in confrontation. First, cadres must be bold in eliminating extreme leftist influences and factionalism. Extreme leftist ideas remained in Hunan for a long time, leaving profound influences, and was tackled rather late. Extreme leftist ideas and factionalism are closely associated with each other. If this problem is not solved, keeping a political unanimity with the central authority will just be an empty promise. Second, cadres must be bold in confrontation when correcting wrong style. The key in leading

is not to use any excuse to avoid confrontation, but use both hard and soft tactics in solving problems. Third, boldness is essential in organizing and handling party members and in building the leading groups. Party member standards must be insisted upon in party member registration. Middle-aged and young intellectuals with talent and outstanding moral character must be selected to take up leading positions.

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